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FIRST LECTURE.

The Past History of China.

I

THE NAME OF CHINA AND ITS MEANING.

II

THE COUNTRY, ITS LAND AND DIVISIONS.

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THE EARLIEST HISTORY IN THE WORLD.

FIRST LECTURE

THE PAST HISTORY OF CHINA

I

The Name of China and its Meaning

China has been known by various names in the past but the name she has been given by the modern world has never been her own nor do we consider it an appropriate name either.

The Chinese people themselves call their country Chung-Hua or Chung-Kuo. Chung means centrally situated, Hua means flower or a glorious existence and Kuo a country. Thus the Chinese people themselves consider their country as a land centrally situated, abounding in flowers and offering a splendid existence. In connection with the name we have to remember that the Chinese civilization is one of the earliest in point of time and highest in quality and her people had from the earliest times conquered and subjugated the uncivilized barbarians of the neighbourhood. The name no doubt seems too much flavoured with pride and yet judged historically, it is not without reason.

By the time of the Chin and Han dynasties, China had become a unified nation due to the development of the feudal system. Her territories gradually expanded as the population increased. The tribes living in the immediate vicinity of China were conquered and assimilated and those living farther away were conquered and made into tributary nations. Thus the boundaries of the country were no longer clearly demarcated and the difference between the various peoples was less noticeable and consequently the names—Chung-Hua and Chung-Kuo were seldom used. Historical events were chronicled by the names of the ruling dynasties and the dynastical names such as Chin, Han, Tang and Ching came to be used for the land as well.

The name "China" is derived from "Chin." During the rule of the Chou dynasty (B. C. 1122 to 249), Chin was a feudal state situated in the north-west of China, comprising the present provinces

of Kansu and Shen-Si. At the beginning, this state was on an equal footing with many other feudal states and was called Chin-Kuo. She gradually became powerful and conquered and assimilated the neighbouring states, thereby unifying the whole country. The name Chin now came to be applied to the dynasty. There were at this period, many unimportant countries in Central Asia, collectively known as the western regions. These regions had communications only with Chin and these people mistook Chin for the whole land of China and called the country Chin. We have already said that the state of Chin unified the whole of China and the Chin dynasty acquired great prestige and therefore the name Chin got more impetus. This name was transmitted from the western regions, southwards to India and westwards to Greece and Rome. Owing to a mispronunciation of the word and by a gradual change in the suffix, Chin became China. By and by the misnomer gradually became merely formal and the world became acquainted with the name of China. In the Mahabharata, we find the word "Chin" from which we know of the early knowledge of the Indians of the country. Western scholars have put forth many theories about the derivation of the name "China" but not one of them is satisfactory owing to their general ignorance of China's past.

Japan still calls China by the name of Great Tang. That is because Japan was greatly influenced by the Chinese civilization of the Tang Period (A. D. 618-907). During this period, numerous Japanese students came to China for their education—most prominent among whom was Kunghai or Kobodashi. He created a kind of alphabet called Kana by slightly changing the Chinese characters in order to note the Chinese words with Japanese sounds. He was in China for 25 years and his fame is chiefly as the creator of Japanese literature. Not only did Japan receive her civilization wholly from China but she also received her religion—Buddhism—from China which had been imported there from India some time ago. Her past civilization was therefore nothing more than a hundred per cent copy of the Tang civilization and it is no wonder, Japan still calls China by the name of Great Tang.

The Great Revolution of 1911 caused the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty and it may be safely forecasted that the Dynastic system has come to an end forever. Since the inception of the

Republic, China has taken the name of The Chung Hua Republic. It is most desirable that (today) she should be known by this name all over the world.

II

The Country: Its Land and Divisions.

Theoretically in point of size, the British Empire is the largest political unit in the world. The U. S. S. R. is the second and China, the third. But most of the British territories are either semi-independent dominions or colonies and Great Britain proper is smaller than the smallest province of China. The Russian territory is vast as well as homogenous, yet a very large part of it bordering on the Arctic Ocean is covered with snow practically all through the year and consequently not suitable for human habitation. China alone possesses an area of vast dimensions with a temperate climate and a fertile soil. It has been said with ample justification that China is more a continent than a single country.

China is situated in the south-east of Asia, on the west coast of the Pacific ocean. She is bound on the east and on the south-east by sea and is land-locked on all other sides. During the days of her political supremacy, Korea, Liu-Chiu, Formosa, Annam, Siam, Burma, Bhutan and Nepal were either her subordinate provinces or tributary states. Japan, the great modern power, was for sometime a tributary nation and one of her kings had received a title of honour conferred on him by a Chinese Emperor. Towards the end of the Manchu period, the Government of the country (China) grew weak owing to wide-spread corruption and the Western States, taking advantage of the situation parcelled out among themselves suitable Chinese territories. All the vassal states of China were thereby lost. Now the area of China is more than four million square miles, or one-fourth of the whole continent of Asia, one-fifteenth of the whole world—it is in itself bigger than the whole continent of Europe.

The Chinese territory is geographically divided into five great divisions: the first of which is China proper with an area of 1,994,644 square miles, subdivided into 18 provinces. The second division is Manchuria or the three Eastern provinces with an area of 40,28,998 square miles. Next comes Mongolia with an area of 90,07,234 square miles; it is again divided into Inner Mongolia and Outer Mongolia.

The fourth division is Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan with an area of 60,33,802 square miles. Last comes Tibet with its 30,19,419 square miles. Since the establishment of the national Government in Nanking in 1927, emphasis has been given on the reformation of the frontier policy and re-arrangement of the territorial divisions. Within the last ten years considerable territorial readjustment has taken place and today the political divisions of China are 28 provinces and two self-governing units viz. Tibet and outer Mongolia. The area of the whole country is 4,314,097 square miles.

The development of communications, industry and commerce has brought a new prosperity and importance to the cities, with a consequent increase in urban population. Many of these industrial urban areas require special administrative machinery and the National Government has endowed some of these cities with special municipal and administrative powers. These municipalities are for all practical purposes independent administrative provinces.

There are three kinds of special regions in the country, of peculiar political and juridical status. They are (1) The International Trade Ports, (2) The Foreign Concessions and (3) The Leased territories. The so-called international trade ports are important trade centres on the coast and inland which are kept open for trade with foreign countries. Free trade in itself is free from blame; it is beneficial to the participating nations in particular and mankind in general. Yet, we the Chinese are not in love with these so-called international trade ports. They were opened up by the force of unequal and unjust treaties, wrested out of the unwilling but weak hands of China at the end of the Manchu period. It is a cruel joke to call these treaty ports, for a treaty presupposes an honest agreement between two equal and willing partners. Of the hundred trading centres in the country, no less than 70 are treaty ports. The so-called foreign concessions are also a sort of treaty ports. In the concessions, the foreign powers enjoy extra-territorial rights; that is, the executive and judicial powers in these cities are in the hands of the foreigners themselves, the National Government of the country having no power to interfere. In some of the treaty ports, there are no less than 20 foreign concessions. The so-called Leased Territories are Chinese areas, which she was made to lease out to foreign powers at the point of the bayonet. They are leased out in name, occupied

in fact. The terms of the lease are long—often 99 years. In the case of a few territories, such as Port Arthur and Darien Bay held by Japan, though the period of the lease has run out, the territories have not been returned. In these special regions serious social evils flourish, winked at by the foreign powers. They are the safe havens of the international crooks and rogues. These so-called international ports and territories, not only hurt the independence and integrity of China and embitter the people, but they also demonstrate the utter hollowness of such empty but well-meaning phrases as international amity and justice. The national government is endeavouring to denounce these unequal treaties, extra-territorial laws and foreign concessions. The attempt has got the sympathy of sincere and true internationalists and the movement promises success. Most of the unequal treaties have been denounced and extra-territoriality put to an end, but many concessions and leased territories have not yet been returned. This naturally keeps the Chinese people discontented and may prove a source of trouble in the future.

III

The People: Its Race and Population.

The people of China is generally divided into six "Tsus" or races; (1) Han-Tsu or the Hans, (2) Miao-Tsu or the Miaos, (3) Man-Tsu, the Manchus, (4) Mong-Tsu, the Mongols, (5) Hui-Tsu, the Muslims, and (6) Tsang-Tsu or the Tibetans. The Han-Tsu people who spread over the whole country and concentrated in China proper, is the oldest, the principal and the most important race of the country. Almost the entire Chinese history and civilization was created by this race. The Hans, therefore, are at once both the nucleus and the true representatives of China. The Miaos, subdivided into several groups, is also a very old race of the country but rather few in number. They are a non-progressive people. Since the very beginning, they made no progress. They were first spread over the whole country; later on gradually concentrated on the Mountains of the south-west of China. Excepting a portion inextricably mixed up with the Hans, most of them are still in a primitive state. Man-Tsu or the Manchus, comparatively a new race, originally inhabited Manchuria, is now entirely assimilated by and mingled with the Han race. The Mongols, who mostly inhabited the area specially identified with them, is also a new race and few in number. And most of them had been assimilated

by the Hans too. The Muslims are mostly living in Sinkiang Province or Chinese Turkestan. They were originally foreign immigrants; but now are mingled with the Hans and are looked upon as an aboriginal race. The condition of Tsang-Tsu or the Tibetans is almost the same as the Mongols. They are mostly living in Tibet and are not many in number. We thus see that though the people of China are nominally divided into six races, there are not many differences or distinctions among them and they have all contributed more or less to the making of the great Chinese nation.

It is difficult to know the exact population of China, not because of the lack of organised census and statistics but because of the uncertainty of the number due to the vastness of the population. Census is quite an old affair in China. According to history, in the 9th century B.C., the population of the country was 22 millions. At the beginning of the Christian Era it rose to 50 millions. Afterwards the people began to avoid giving the exact number of the family, in order to escape from growing taxation and conscription. Since the establishment of the new system of post office and custom houses all over the country attempts are being made to get the approximate number of the population through statistics in these offices. This method though yielding only approximate results is very useful to students of the population problem as well as for Governmental investigation. According to the census of the Ministry of Interior in 192-, the population was 174,787,386. But the numbers given for the same year by the Post Office and the Customs Department are somewhat different.

The Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Hindus and the Chinese are the four oldest nations in the civilized world. Amongst them, the Egyptians and Babylonians are today mere historical memories, while the Hindus and the Chinese still attract the world's attention. Why is this difference? There must be some special qualities in these two peoples which have enabled them to survive throughout history. Let us consider the Chinese people. The chief characteristics of the Chinese people are (1) endurance, (2) adaptibility to environment and (3) power of harmonization. Besides these there are three other special virtues of the people—(1) love of peace, (2) politeness and (3) sincerity. They have, like all other nations, characteristic defects in national character, but they are of minor importance and can easily

be got rid of. Now the different parts of the world are becoming more and more inter-dependent and inter-related and the Chinese have also begun assimilating some features of foreign civilizations. It is to be hoped they will retain all that is best in them and through their contact with the other nations, will rectify in course of time their national defects. In this would lie the future greatness of the nation.

IV

The Oldest Civilization of the World.

The European scholars often make the grave mistake of looking upon the Egyptian and Babylonian civilizations as the two oldest in point of time. This mistake is occasioned by their almost complete ignorance of Chinese History and understanding of Chinese Culture. I venture to suggest that the Chinese civilization is much older than either of these two civilizations. As I have said before the Egyptians and Babylonians have long vanished away, the relics which have survived the onslaught of time are also few and very often the European scholars base their conclusions on very insufficient data. As to China, her old chronicles are almost complete and the numberless historical records of the country point to the great antiquity of her civilization.

According to old historical records You-Tsao first invented houses to teach the people to live safely. Suei-Jen invented fire by drilling wood to teach the people to cook. These discoveries took place much more than ten thousand years ago. Fu-Hsi taught the people to catch fish with nets, animals with snares and he also taught them to sing to the accompaniment of guitars. He also laid down the formal rules of the wedding ceremony; this is the inauguration of social marriage in human society. He created the Eight-Diagrams which were the origin of the written characters. He found the way to measure time, which is the prelude to the almanac. Shen-Nung invented spades and ploughs, and taught the people to cultivate corn. He established a kind of market and taught the people to exchange their products. He experimented with the curative qualities of various plants, roots and leaves and thus laid the foundations of the science of medicine. He also reformed the system of calendar. It is

to be remembered that all this took place about ten thousand years ago Since then many great sages, one after another, have laid the world under a great debt of gratitude by their inventions and discoveries. Circa 2,700 B. C. Huang-Ti or the Yellow Emperor ruled over the country. He was a successful king but we remember him today most for some of the vitally important inventions connected with civilized life. Amongst his numerous useful inventions, mention should be made of (1) cap and dress, (2) vehicle and boat, (3) mortar and pestle, (4) bow and arrow, (5) compass, (6) metallic coins and (7) Coffin. Apart from his direct personal inventions, he had reformed and improved upon many of the things already in current use. Astronomy and the system of determining the seasons, studies of the solar system, are only a few of the fields he had enriched with his genius.

The growth of human civilisation has a long and definite course. Man first solved the problem of housing and food, then clothing and the making of household implements. Astronomy, the system of determining seasons and time, medicine and communications come next, then follow script and written literature. Then he develops social etiquette, music and Government and lastly come ethics, morality, religion, and philosophy. At the time of the reign of the Yellow Emperor (2697-2598 B.C.) all these things, which are the essentials of a civilized existence, were completely developed in Chinese society. Religion, philosophy, ethics and moral science, reached the zenith of their development during the period of Hsia, Shang and Chou Dynasties (about 2000-1000 B.C.). This period was a golden age in the history of Chinese civilization as well as in the history of the world's progress.

The script of a nation's language is a most important source of historical research in that particular civilization. The Chinese script was invented by Fu-Hsi and completed by the Yellow Emperor. According to tradition, Tsang-Chi, the Yellow Emperor's minister of History, created the script under Imperial direction. As a matter of fact, the script was not created by him or in his time—he merely rearranged and classified it. Most foreign scholars, in their utter ignorance consider the Chinese language as the most difficult to learn. Many others again consider the script as pictorial writing contrasted to the spelt words of other nations. To assert that Chinese is diffi-

cult to learn is not quite correct. After comparative research into different scripts, I personally feel that the Chinese language is easier and more reasonable than most other languages of the world. To speak of Chinese as a pictorial writing is only partially true. There must be three elements present to the making of a proper script—namely, form, sound and meaning. A script lacking any of these elements is an incomplete one. In truth, there is no script in the world which is purely pictorial or spelt. The construction and use of Chinese script are classified into six headings called six writings. What the foreign scholars miscalled pictorial is only one of them which we call "Resembling forms". This system of the Chinese Script has not been changed since the most ancient times. And another thing we have to notice is that the script and the written language is same for the whole of China, an area, we should remember, vaster than that of the whole of Europe. The use of a common script has contributed greatly to the unity of the Chinese people.

The old historical records are also important materials for the detailed research into the past. China has her written historical records from the time the script was created. Early in the reign of the Yellow Emperor, there were Ministers of History—the one who stood to the left of the throne wrote down the speeches which were made by the Emperor himself, as well as by his ministers and the petitioners and the one who stood to the right chronicled the events which happened during the time. Unfortunately these records have mostly perished, mainly due to the notorious Chin-Shi-Huang-Ti who seems to have had a special delight in the burning of books. There are, of course, other contributory causes during this long course of time. We only know of the titles of the books, but in most of the cases, the books themselves have vanished. Many old books however still remain such as Yi-Chin or "The Canons of Changes" a book of the time of Fu-Shi. Shang-Hsu was written between the years 2357-2208 B.C. It was begun during the time of Tang and Yu. Shih-Chin or "The Canons of Poetry" which was compiled by Confucius was a collection of songs of the period of Shang and Chou (about 1500-500 B.C.). There are no books in the world, excepting the Vedas, as old as these ones. Apart from these books, there are numerous folksongs of very olden times recorded in some other books.

I shall give you here the example of a folksong of the age of Tang-Yao, about 2300-2200 B.C. and a song composed by Yu-Shun about the same period.

(1) "I rise when the sun rises
And rest when the sun sets;
I dig a well to drink
And plough the land for food.
The power of Ti, let it be,
But what has it got to do with me."

(2) "Oh Lucky Cloud, spread
Your splendour, over and over;
Oh, Sun and Moon, brighten and beautify
The days for ever and ever."

The modern world is proud of its science, but China is its land of origin. Early in the period of San-tai or the three Dynasties (about 2000-1000 B. C.) there were studies of Lu-Yi or Six Arts and Lu-Kung or Six Works. The names of the Six Works are Tu-Kung or Architecture, Chin-Kung or Metallurgy, Shih-Kung or Masonry, Mu-Kung or Carpentry, Shou-Kung or Zoology and Tsao-Kung or Botany. The names of the Six Arts are Li or Etiquette, Yo or Music, Shoh or Archery, Yu or Coachmanship, Shu or Writing and Su or Mathematics. There are various divisions in each of these arts: 5 in Etiquette, Archery and Coachmanship, 6 in Music and Writing and 9 in Mathematics. There were elaborate studies into political theory and organisation as well as in the military science and tactics in warfare. All these above studies were logically and systematically classified. This, I contend, is the real beginning of modern Science. China also takes the credit for four of the most significant inventions of Science—the compass, paper, printing and gunpowder. They are really the harbingers of the age of Science. Yet, quite significantly enough, gunpowder was used by the Chinese, only for fireworks and bonfire, for amusement and not for killing and the destruction of life as in the West. Herein, may be found one of the most characteristic differences in the basis of civilization, in China and the West.

In my opinion, the four chief merits of Chinese civilization, can be enumerated as below:—

(1) It was creative and original. The civilization was entirely a product of her own soil. It did not borrow or imitate.

(2) Secondly, comes its great quality of permanence. As said before, Egypt and Babylon have vanished in the limbo of time; China lasts and even develops.

(3) Thirdly, comes its all-pervasive character. Take the script and the language for instance, as narrated before, it has always been the same for an area, larger than that of the whole of Europe.

(4) Lastly, must be mentioned the humanitarian and the beneficial attitute of Chinese civilization. Gunpowder, as mentioned above, is an excellent example in illustration. What was used for pure amusement in China became the most potent force of destruction in other countries.

Having regard to all these special qualities, I make bold to assert that the Chinese civilization is superior in quality to all other civilizations, past or present, excepting that of India. The civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia were not so lasting, and those of Greece and Rome not so pervasive. It is yet too early to pronounce upon modern European civilization, but is any one even now really enamoured of it?

V

The Earliest History in the World.

Of all the civilized nations, China has the best record of written histories and it is therefore quite easy to know of China's past, should one be desirous of so doing.

Tradition speaks of Pan-Ku as the originator of Chinese history. He, it was, who created the universe and ruled the world—he was blessed with seven hands and eight feet. Next to Pan-Ku, comes San-Huang or the three mythical Emperors: namely—Tien-Huang or the Emperor of Heaven, Ti-Huang or the Emperor of Earth, and Jen-Huang or the Emperor of mankind. San-Huang was followed by Shih-Chi or the Ten Epochs. Shi-Chi was followed by Wu-Ti or the Five Rulers. There are books dealing with these periods and giving to each a very long time. They may be true, but

the recorded facts are a little too remote to be reliable. It is from the time of the Yellow Emperor, that we enter the realm of authentic historical events.

Before the time of the Yellow Emperor, China was a tribal country. Different tribes fought amongst themselves for the mastery of the land—There was neither social order nor a high state of civilization. Under the Yellow Emperor—by the year 2697 B.C., China was united and became a great Empire. Social order and the governmental system were initiated and progress maintained in all directions. In fact, we should look upon the Yellow Emperor as the creator of the Chinese nation, and originator of the civil society. It is because of this that the Chinese people consider themselves as descended from the Yellow Emperor and the first year of his reign is referred to as the beginning of the historical era.

Though the Yellow Emperor came to the imperial throne mainly because of his military prowess, he himself as well as his successors ruled the Empire more by their virtue than by their sword. After many generations, the last successor of the Yellow Emperor was Ti-Chih who was overthrown by the people owing to his gross inability and lack of virtue and Yao was made the Emperor. Yao ruled for a full hundred years when he abdicated of his own accord and passed on the throne to Shun. Shun ruled for 48 years and in his turn, abdicated, after assigning the throne to Yu. The virtue and ability of the Emperors Yao and Shun were "as bright as the sun and the moon". They ruled their Empire entirely by the influence of their sublime personality and left their throne to successors who were as good and competent as themselves. Confucius and Mencius regarded these two Emperors as model rulers and their reign as exhibiting the ideal form of Government. The period of their reigns is known as the period of voluntary abdications (Shan-Yang), which is a most glorious epoch of Chinese History.

Yu was an old minister of the Emperors Yao and Shun. His great deed was to save the country from disastrous floods by opening up the mouths of the nine major rivers and leading the flow of the water to the sea. He was finally chosen as the successor to the Emperor Shun. After eight years of rule he abdicated owing to old

age and following the tradition of the past Emperors, he desired to give the throne to his minister of state Po-Yi but the people preferred his son Chi to be the successor. Since then the throne became a hereditary one. The dynastic name was Hsia. It lasted 12 generations with 17 Emperors, over a period of 439 years (2205-1766 B.C.). The last Emperor of the dynasty was Chieh who was deposed by a Marquis named Chen-Tang owing to his tyranny. Chen-Tang having overthrown the Emperor Chieh, ascended the throne himself. This dynasty is known by the name of Shang. It lasted 16 generations with 28 Emperors over a period of 644 years (1766-1122 B.C.). The last Shang Emperor Chow met with the same fate as Chieh having been deprived of his throne by the Marquis Fa for his tyrannical and unsuccessful rule. Fa then became the Emperor with the dynastic name of Chou. This is the second example of revolution in Chinese history. The Chou Dynasty, which is the longest one in history lasted for no less than 867 years (1122-255 B.C.) with 37 Emperors belonging to 33 generations.

The period of the Chou Dynasty is a golden era of Chinese history. When we read the Chou-Li, a book of the records of the Chou Official Rites and Governmental System, we cannot but admire the ability and the spirit of our ancestors. Improvement was made in a most remarkable manner in all branches of civilization and culture. The period is also remarkable for its numerous saints and savants. We have only to remember that the great Confucius and Lao-Tu belong to this era, as well as Mencius, Mo-Tu, Chuang-Tu and Hsun-Tu. There flourished no fewer than ten different schools of Philosophy. It was a period of free thinking and learning—a real efflorescence of Chinese Culture.

Two other great social movements characterise this period—the development of Feudalism and the initiation of the Ching-Tien System.

The Feudal system was inaugurated during the rule of the Yellow Emperor; there was a slow development under the Hsia and Shang dynasties and it was during the rule of the Chou Dynasty that it was given its final shape. The country was divided into nine Chows or Presidencies, each Chow sub-divided into a number of

Pangs or Feudal states. There were five classes of feudal states according to size—namely: first, Kung or Dukedom, with an area of 500 square lis; second, Hou or Marquisate, with 400 square lis; third, Po or Earldom, with 300 square lis; fourth, Tu or Viscountdom, with 200 square lis; and fifth, Nan or Barony, with 100 square lis. All the five groups were collectively "called Chu-Hou" or Feudal Princes. The region under the direct control of the Central Government was called "Huang-Chi" or the Imperial Domain. Every year, the Feudal Prince had to send a detailed report of the administration of his state to the Central Government, which arranged for a close inspection of the territory every three years. Chinese Feudalism, unlike the foreign systems, was fundamentally democratic.

The Ching-Tien system is the land policy of the dynasty. All land belonged to the nation and was equally divided among the people. Each square li was subdivided into nine divisions of a hundred mous each; of this total 900 mous, 800 parts were distributed to 8 families for their private use and the centrally situated 100 mous were reserved as public property, to be cultivated by the neighbouring farmers in turn. The yield of the public land was contributed to the Government for defraying the state expenses. The people had to pay a greater attention to the cultivation of the public land than to their private holdings. It is in fact, a system of Communism, but unlike in western countries, it did not call for any bloodshed for its inauguration.

The feudal system worked well for a long time, but eventually fell into disrepute through the ambitions of the different princes, who started hostilities amongst themselves. Towards the end of the Chou period there were 7 different states in the country—Chin being the most powerful one. Chen, the king of Chin succeeded in conquering all other states and by overthrowing the last Chou Emperor, made himself the First Emperor of the Chin Dynasty. He abrogated the Feudal system, thereby starting a new phase in Chinese history. Having unified the nation, he conquered Annam in the south and Japan in the east. He divided his vast Empire into 40 Chuns or Provinces and like Alexander the Great, he also thought of himself as having conquered the whole world. He hoped that his dynasty would be ever-lasting, but in fact, it was the shortest one in China, for his

son and successor, Esh-Shih, the Second Emperor was overthrown owing to his tyranny. He was too much engrossed in military affairs and neglected completely all cultural pursuits. Books were burned and scholars buried alive under his orders and eventually, the peace-loving people could tolerate his misrule no further. The revolutionaries were ably headed by a plebeian Liu-Pang, who later on made himself the Emperor under the name of Han-Kao-Tsu and inaugurated the Han Dynasty. This is the first plebeian revolution in Chinese history.

The Han dynasty lasted for 403 years and came to an end in the year 220 A.D. From that year to 1911, when China ceased to be a dynastic Empire and became a Republic, there have been several other ruling dynasties amongst which the outside world is most familiar with Tang and Sung periods, because of the unrivalled artistic productions—particularly pictures and porcelain wares of these periods.

SECOND LECTURE

Political Changes in Modern China.

I

DECLINE OF MANCHU RULE THE CHING DYNASTY.

II

THE GREAT REVOLUTION AND THE REPUBLIC.

III

CHAOS AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

IV

THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA IN CHINESE POLITICS.

V

THE SYSTEM OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND ITS POLICY.

SECOND LECTURE

POLITICAL CHANGES IN MODERN CHINA

I.

Decline of Manchu Rule, the Ching Dynasty

To divide history into periods is indeed a difficult task, for the significance of historical events is based upon causes which themselves are often buried in the distant past. Modern Chinese history may be said to begin from the establishment of the Republic. But how can we understand the real importance of the Republic, unless we also know its background, the political and social conditions which engendered the great popular revolution? In order to understand the present in a proper way we must also know the immediate past.

The last rulers before the Revolution belong to the Ching Dynasty, the last Dynasty in a long role of royal rulers. The Ching Dynasty was established by the Manchus in 1644 and lasted till 1911, having supplied China with ten kings. China prospered well under the rule of the Ching kings in the days of their zenith. At the beginning of the Ching Dynasty, Annam, Siam, Burma, Bhutan and Nepal were regular tributary States of China. During the reign of Kang-Hsi, Peter the Great of Russia sent tribute to Peking and curried favour with China from time to time. During the reign of Chien-Lung, in the year 1793, the first British ambassador Lord Macartney, visited China carrying greetings of the Britannic King. It is interesting to note that when he was presented before the Emperor Chien-Lung, he made genuflection before him. From the following letter which Emperor Chien-Lung wrote to the British king, we can know of the power and prestige of China at that time:—

> "Your minister has placed before me your letter and presents and I am glad to know that your loyalty towards me is great, notwithstanding the distance that separates our respective empires. I have ordered my ministers to give him and his men a warm reception and I have granted him an audience already.

Your request for my permission to send a few of your people to supervise over your trade here cannot be entertained as it is against the constitution of the Celestial Empire.

My Celestial Empire is surrounded by the four seas and my only interest is in the efforts of ruling my people. Rare and precious things mean nothing to me, as must have been noticed by your ambassador.

In fact, my Celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no products within its own borders. There is, therefore, no need of importing the manufactures of outside barbarians.

May your loyalty and allegiance towards me continue unabated, ensuring the safety and peace of your country."

At that time though China reached the zenith of her power, yet traces of decline were discernible. Before the establishment of the Ching Dynasty, the Manchus were an uncivilized race inhabiting the North-East of China. But when they got into power, owing to the fear of being overthrown, they did their best to advance the welfare of the people on one side and strengthen their authority on the other. Yet, after more than a century of rule, they gradually became more and more corrupt and the state officers venal. The country was overrun with officers who were unworthy and given to bribe-taking. There is the celebrated case of the prime minister Ho-Kun who in the course of 20 years of official life accumulated a fortune of 800 million taels. Considering the annual revenue of the whole empire which was 700 thousand taels, his capital punishment and confiscation of his entire property in later years by the Government was indeed well merited retribution. The severity of Ho-Kun's punishment was however ineffectual in curing the state officers of the shameful practice of bribe-taking.

To add to the seriousness of the declining situation at the time, there were a number of revolts in the country. There were the religious rebellions started by the White Lily Society (Po Lien Chiao) and pursued by the Heavenly Reason Society (Tien Li Chiao). Apart from these, there were the revolts of the Miao people in Kwei-Chou, of

Mohammedans in Sin-Kiang and of the pirates on the South-East coast. Then came the Tai-Ping Revolution, started under the banner of Christianity by Hung Hsiu-Chuan. Hung Hsiu-Chuan, a native of Hua District in Kuangtung province, was a devoted Christian. With the war cry of 'Liberty' and 'Equality', he attempted at the political reform and economic and social reconstruction of the country. He began his campaign with the establishment of the Three Points Society (San Dien Hui) and preached the faith that Jehova was the Father of Heaven, Jesus the elder brother and he himself the younger brother. He met with great success at the beginning, fifteen provinces coming under his rule within the first few years. He founded the dynasty of Tai Ping Tien Kuo or The Heavenly Kingdom of the Great Peace with Nanking as the Capital. But his revolution ended in nothing. It threatened the whole structure of Chinese society and civilization. The loss of the sympathy of the people contributed to its failure. The declining glory and power of the Ching Dynasty was prolonged by a few decades.

Following these uprisings in the country, came relentless foreign aggression. During the reign of Tao-Kuang, in the year 1840 the Opium War against Britain was started, and China was defeated. By the Nanking Treaty, five sea-ports, Kuangchou, Amoy, Fuchou, Ningpo and Shanghai were opened with concessions and extraterritorial rights. Hongkong was ceded and heavy indemnities were paid. This was the first of a long series of unequal and unjust treaties forced upon China. In 1860, the Anglo-French allied armies bombarded Peking, looted the forbidden city and forced two other treaties, of Tien-tsin and Peking upon the fallen country. More indemnities were paid and a few more seaports were opened. During the reign of Kuang-Hsu, in 1895, China was defeated by Japan with the result that Formosa was ceded, with the usual heavy indemnities and opening up of a few more Chinese ports. Korea, a tributary state of China was nominally made independent, but in fact, it became a province of Japan. In 1900, there was the Boxers' Rising and China was once again defeated by the united forces of Britain, Russia, Japan, Germany, France, America, Austria and Italy. The Ching Dynasty fell into extreme decadence and this laid the foundations of the Great Revolution of 1911.

II

The Great Revolution and the Chinese Republic.

Before we begin to describe the Great Revolution, let us first know the great leader of the movement, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen.

Dr. Sun was born in 1866 in Chung-Shan district,(*Kuang-Tung.*) In his childhood, the story of Hung Hsiu-Chuan, leader of the Tai Ping Revolution, interested him very much, and he treasured the hope, that when he grow up, he also would be like Hung Hsiu-Chuan. When he reached manhood, the corruption of the Manchu rule and the national humiliations stirred his blood, and he engaged himself in revolutionary propaganda. The Government as well as the people, began to look upon him as a dangerous revolutionary leader. After his graduation from a medical college in Hongkong, he set up ostensibly as a medical practitioner in Kuangchou and Macao, but in reality was more occupied in revolutionary propaganda. He earned the sympathy of a good number of people, and of some political organisations and in 1894 he inaugurated the Hsin Chung Hui as a central organisation of revolution. In 1895 the Government lay humiliated through the country's ignominious defeat at the hands of Japan. Dr. Sun took the chance and struck his first blow in Canton. But owing to premature disclosure of his arrangements, he failed and had to flee the country. By way of Japan and America, he took shelter in Europe, but wherever he went, he preached his principles among the Chinese overseas. He had already become a source of great trouble to the Ching Government and in 1896, he was secretly kidnapped by some officers of the Chinese Legation in London and kept concealed there. However, through the efforts of his teacher Mr. James Cantlie, the authorities at the legation had to free him under pressure from the English authorities. At the request of his friends, he wrote a book called "My Recent Arrest" which proved a best seller and made him at once a world celebrity.

At first Dr. Sun thought and strove only for the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty and the establishment of the Republic. But during his enforced exile in Europe, he studied deeply the economic and social problems there and came to realize that without a proper

adjustment of these important factors of national well-being, it would be futile to hope for a successful revolution. His policy henceforth was to be known as "San Ming Chu Yi", i. e. the Three Principles of the People—emphasising the need of social, economic and political justice in the State. In his autobiography, he said:

> "After being rescued from my kidnappers I lived in Europe for two years. Through my investigations into the institutions and customs of Europe and intimate social intercourse with people high and low, in England and the Continent, I came to learn that the people of those countries were none the happier for all their much vaunted democracy and the great material power which undoubtedly they had. Everywhere I found, struggles, often very bitter and sanguinary, for socialism. I hoped to save my country from such future trouble and adumbrated the principle of National Livelihood along with the principles of Nationalism and Democracy."

The "Three Principles of the People" formulated by Dr. Sun were as follows:—

(1) Ming Tsu Chu Yi, i.e. The principle of the people's independence or Nationalism;

(2) Ming Chuan Chu Yi, i.e. The principle of the people's rule or Democracy; and

(3) Ming Shen Chu Yi, i.e. The principle of the people's livelihood or Socialism.

The Principle of the People's Independence or Nationalism as understood and practised by Dr. Sun sought for racial equality. Its meaning is twofold: internally it stands for the civic equality of all races within Chinese territories and externally, it advocates a complete international equality of different nations. The Principle of the People's Rule or Democracy, has two meanings namely the political rights of the people, and the decentralisation of governmental powers. The former is elaborated into four definite powers, (i) the right of vote, (ii) the right of recall, (iii) the right of initiative and (iv) the right of referendum. The power of the government is subdivided into five: (i) Legislative, (ii) Judicial, (iii) Executive, (iv)

Examination and (v) Control. These are otherwise known as the five constitutional powers. The Principle of the People's Livelihood may be regarded as a broad and expansive socialism. It may be called collective and comprehensive socialism.

In his first lecture on the Principle of the People's Livelihood, Dr. Sun gave its definition in the following words: "We may say that the term 'Ming-Shen' in its essence means the livelihood of the people, which in other words, means the very life of the masses, upon which depends the existence of the society and of the nation. Through this principle, I want to deal with and solve the greatest problem which is troubling Europe for nearly a century. I am referring to the social problem. So, the Principle of the People's Livelihood may be interpreted as Socialism, or Communism or the Principle of the Great Union."

But the Socialism that Dr. Sun preached and professed was neither Karl Marx's social philosophy nor the so-called communist experiment of Soviet Russia. Dr. Sun was fond of referring to Marx as only a social pathologist who knew nothing of social physiology. Hence his theory is only of pathological interest. The Principle of the People's Livelihood, on the other hand, makes good this all-important deficiency in Marxian theory. There are two important measures for realizing this principle: the regulation of capital and equalisation of the land holding. The people, one and all, will have land to cultivate and work to do, but none will be allowed to become landlords or capitalists. The natural resources of the country will be utilized by the government, and it will also carry on reconstruction work on a large scale in order to enable all people to have equal enjoyment and happiness. The principle of the people's livelihood is the Chinese version of the Socialist theory emphasising the special conditions and particular circumstances of China.

Having completely worked out his "Three Principles of the People" he left Europe for Japan to carry on his propaganda. He travelled all over the world to arouse the overseas Chinese and invite sympathy of foreign nations. In 1905, we find him again in Europe and there he formally inaugurated his revolutionary organization, which was first convened in Brussels, and successively in Berlin, Paris

and Tokyo. The name of the organization was finally settled as 'Chung Kuo Ke Ming Tung Meng Hui" or the Chinese Revolutionary League. Its members, working for the great goal, were scattered all over the country, and even though their efforts were often unsuccessful, such failures only increased their revolutionary zeal and made their methods more subtle and cautious.

The last and the most serious of the failures was in Canton on the 29th March, 1911, which caused a total loss of 72 brave young lives. They now lie buried in a Cantonese suburb, in a graveyard known as the Yellow Flower Cemetry, which is today a veritabe place of pilgrimage for the Chinese people. But this failure was only to usher in the final attempt, the Great Revolution which suddenly broke out in the city of Wu-Chang in the province of Hu-Pei on October 10 of the year. Within a period of one month only, ten provinces had already flown the flag of Revolution. At that time, Dr. Sun was still abroad. Pressed by the followers, he immediately returned to the country and convened a conference of provincial representatives in Shanghai. It was resolved to establish a Provisional Government at Nanking and Dr. Sun was elected as the Provisional President of the Republic of China. The Government was formally inaugurated on the first of January, 1912 in Nanking. The lunar calender was immediately established and the year 1912 was fixed as the first year of the Revolutionary Era. A Cabinet was formed which included such important persons at General Huang-Hsing, Dr. Wu Ting-Fang and Dr. Tsai Yuan-Pei. After the formation of the Cabinet, a parliament was convoked which contained representatives from all the provinces. The Provisional Constitution, of 56 articles was formally proclaimed on March 11 by the President. Its three most important clauses were the following:—

(1) The State of China was a Republic organized by all the people of the country,

(2) The Sovereignty belonged to all the people, and

(3) Complete Equality of all the people, irrespective of race, class, and creed.

Before the establishment of the Nanking Provisional Government, the Manchu Dynasty made its last bid to save itself by taking

recourse to constitutional method and begged the dismissed general Yuan Shih-Kai to take charge of the defence of the state, as well as of the reorganization of the Governmental machinery. Yuan became both the Premier and the Commander-in-Chief of the State forces in struggle against the Southern Republican movement. Yuan was both ambitious and treacherous by nature. On the one hand, he frightened the poor distracted Emperor with the hopelessness of the situation and urged him to abdicate, on the other, he deceived President Sun with his promise of support to the republican forces but requested the latter's resignation in favour of his own election to the Presidency of a United Chinese Republic Owing to Dr. Sun's inherent generosity of nature, the request was granted. Thus, the Child Emperor Hsien Tung, alias Pu Yi formally abdicated on February 22, 1912 and was put under the full protection and benevolent treatment of the new government, according to the treaty which was signed immediately before the abdication. The next morning (Feb. 23, 1912) Dr. Sun resigned the presidency and Yuan was installed at the head of the republican state. Dr. Sun's only goal was the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty and the inauguration of the Republic—he had no personal ambitions and he did not hesitate to resign in favour of Yuan. It may be recalled that in his inaugural address as president in previous January he had said "When the Empire is overthrown, I will resign." He kept his word. With the final overthrow of the Emperor, yet another chapter began in the chequered history of China.

III

Chaos after the Establishment of the Republic.

Any great movement demands of its promoters an adequate price for its complete success. There can be no deceiving the Destiny. The price may be paid before the achievement or after, but paid it must be. The success of the Chinese Revolution was achieved almost without a struggle when the final hour arrived—even though there had been preparations for years before. The transition from the monarchy to the republic was effected, almost without shedding a drop of blood. Herein, perhaps lay the weakness of the Revolution. But China has paid since then, more than amply.

According to the programme outlined by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, the political reconstruction of the country was to take place in three stages. The initial stage for the establishment of political power must necessarily be "Military." After the government was established and recognized, the second stage called "Political tutelage" would begin. During the educative period the government acts as trustee of the political power of the people. The third stage will be "Constitutional", when the people will exercise their right to compose and supervise the governmental organization through the election of representatives.

A Republic cannot be really inaugurated by skipping through any of these three stages, or it will be impossible to extinguish completely the dying flames of monarchism in the people. Unfortunately for China, the success of the revolutionary movement was more spectacular and speedy than solid and this foreboded an evil and troubled future. Referring to this Dr. Sun wrote in his "History of Chinese Revolution":—

> "It is much to be regretted that the three periods of reconstruction of the Republic namely the 'Period of Military Operations', the 'Period of Political Tutelage' and the 'Period of Constitutional Government', had been cut short during the time of the Revolution. The unhappy events in the country since then are entirely due to the negligence of some of the prominent revolutionary leaders of the time."

Owing to Yuan's machinations and obstinacy, Peking was made the Capital, instead of Nanking as arranged before by the Southern revolutionary leaders. Soon after his appointment as the Provisional President, he ostentatiously vowed his allegiance to the constitution and convoked an elected national Parliament. But before long he got this parliament to elect him as the formal president and began to do away with parts of the provisional Constitution which seemed to bar the path of his ambition. He was extra-ordinarily vindictive towards some of the revolutionary leaders and many were put to death under his orders. It was clear as daylight that Yuan was no republican and he was merely taking advantage of the new spirit in the country to further his personal interests. Aware of this great danger to the

new-born republic, Dr. Sun, organized a new party, called the "Ching Hua Ke Ming Tang" or The Revolutionary Party of China, and issued a stern warning to Yuan. Yuan was in his dreams and thought he could get done whatever he wanted. In November, 1915, he went to the extreme length of denouncing and abrogating the Republican Constitution and announced the restoration of the monarchy, with himself on the throne. He fixed the first of January, 1916 as the date for his coronation and anointment as the king. But the limit had been reached and simultaneously with his announcement renouncing the Republic, a fresh revolution broke out in the South-Western Provinces under the leadership of generals Tsai Ngo and Li Lieh-Chun; it spread like wild fire all over the country. Providential death however saved Yuan from utter disgrace; he died with his royal dream unrealized.

After the death of Yuan, Dr. Sun tried to bring into force a full republican programme but the people were yet timid and he was not fully successful. The evil spirit of Yuan still seemed to influence certain sections of the people and there were a series of attempts—often of a farcical nature—at the restoration of the Manchu Dynasty. All these attempts proved abortive, but they none the less created in the political arena that dangerous portent—"The War Lord". These self-made warlords sprang up everywhere, specially in the North, in great number, like mushrooms. Nobody in his senses would ever accuse them of even the slightest traces of patriotism; self-interest was their only motive force, and they brought the country to the verge of complete collapse with their ceaseless intrigues and wars. Each state became the virtual domain of a successful warlord. For several years, the Southern provinces formed a group in opposition to the Peking government, which was maintained entirely by the northern military clique. Civil war blazed in various parts of the country and the future of the great country seemed to be blighted for ever.

When a nation suffers from internal dissension the country generally falls an easy prey to foreign aggression. We have an ambitious and not very scrupulous neighbour in Japan. Taking advantage of the European War and Yuan Shih-Kai's betrayal to the country, she invaded and captured Kao-Chou Bay, a German 'leased'

territory and also forcibly took control of the Kao-Chi Railway of China. It was of no avail to point out to her that China too was fighting on the side of the allies. She forced Yuan Shih-Kai's Government to sign the so-called Twenty-one Demands in secret, which if fully realised in fact would have meant perpetual enslavement of China to Japan. Yuan, dreaming of becoming an Emperor, agreed to sign this fatal document of national humiliation, hoping to have personal consideration later on at the hands of agreateful Japanese government. The cup of China's degradation was filled to overflowing, when on the 9th of May, 1915, Yuan set his seal and signature on the document, virtually bartering away the independence of his motherland. The whole country seethed with amazement and indignation, whereas, the other nations also sat up and opened their eyes to what was being done in China. The United States government officially denounced Japan's policy with regard to China. The Chinese people even today remember the 9th of May, 1915 as the day of National Humiliation and will never forget it although the Japanese demands were not given effect.

The example set up by Japan was soon copied by other predatory nations of the West, seeking fortune in Chinese territory. In order to take advantage of the disturbance in the country, they ceaselessly instigated the various warlords to fight against one another, plentifully supplying them with much needed arms and ammunition. Eventually, the President of the U. S. A., Harding took the initial step of peacefully solving the Chinese problem by convoking a Pacific Conference in Washington on the first of July, 1921, at which nine nations, namely Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Holland, U. S. A. and China were represented. The Conference came to an agreement and the Nine Power Pact was signed with regard to China.

The important clauses of the Nine Power Pact are enumerated below :—

(1) To respect the sovereignty, independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

(2) To provide the fullest and freest opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government.

(3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commercial interests of all nations throughout the Chinese territory.

The treaty, seemingly beneficial to China, was in fact concerned solely with the commercial interests of foreign nations. Moreover, it hurt the self-respect of a proud nation like the Chinese, but there was no way out.

The people now began to realize that no peace in the country was possible without overthrowing the warlords, that no republic could really be established rooting out the old feudal power and finally, that no resistance against the foreign intrusion was possible without a stable and revolutionary government at the centre. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, the Father of the Chinese Republic, again assumed control of the situation and led his people to the Second Great Revolution.

IV

The Beginning of a New Era in Chinese Politics.

I have already recorded that Dr. Sun, at the very beginning of his political career inaugurated his first revolutionary organization, called The Hsin Chung Hui at Honolulu in 1894. In 1904, the basis of the society was enlarged and its name changed to Chung Kuo Ko Ming Tung Meng Hui or the Chinese Revolutionary League. The League had its deliberations in a number of conferences at various centres in Europe and eventually the headquarters were transferred to Tokyo in Japan. It is this League which is mainly responsible for the final overthrow of Manchu Rule and the inauguration of the Republic. Once again during the time of Yuan's betrayal, Dr. Sun started afresh a revolutionary party in Tokyo in 1914 named Chung Hua Ko Ming Tang—which took the initiative in the movement which rid China of Yuan's ambition. After the death of Yuan, the Northern warlords created havoc in the country with their little personal wars amongst themselves. In order to liquidate once for all the perilous power of these warlords, and to rally the revolutionary forces in the country, Dr. Sun, reorganized once again his revolutionary party naming it the Chung Kuo Ming Tang or the Nationalist Party of China. Dr. Sun

was rightly convinced that he would be taking a great risk in entrusting the military work in the Revolution to these old generals who had neither principle nor discipline nor character. Soon after, a new military school, called Huang Pu Military Academy was started with General Chiang Kai-Shek at its head to train young officers for the Republic. This was the plant which bore the fruit of his posthumous success.

The Kuomingtang—to use the abbreviated name of the party—after its reorganization, shifted its headquarters to Canton. It rallied all revolutionary persons—whether nationalists, communists or anarchists—under its banner and attempted to weld them into a homogeneous entity through iron discipline. A complete programme for the reorganized party was published in 1923, at the same time a military Government was established in Canton with Dr. Sun at its head. Dr. Sun was endowed with dictatorial powers and all party members owed allegiance to Dr. Sun's principle and order. In the meantime elaborate preparations were being made to proceed against the northern government. Here an interesting development took place—General Feng Yu-Hsiang, once known as the Christian General, a subordinate to the warlord Wu Pei-Fu, hoping to put a stop to the disastrous civil wars, mutinied against Wu and attempted to put Tuan Chi-Juei, a political leader of the north at the head of the government and invited Dr. Sun to go to Peking to discuss national affairs. Seeing the northern military leaders repentent about their past follies, Dr. Sun agreed to go to Peking, which he eventually did via Japan. Prior to his departure, he issued a manifesto, in which three following essential points were emphasised—the first was to renounce all unequal treaties, the second was to overthrow all the warlords, thus turning the military powers of the nation into the hands of the people, and the third was to reconstruct the nation on the basis of the 'The Three People's Principles'. While in Japan, at the incessant request of the people, he made an important speech on the idea of an Asiatic federation which was warmly applauded and attracted a good deal of attention at the time. Unfortunately, to the great misfortune of the Chinese people, Dr. Sun tired of his endless strivings and suffering suddenly breathed his last at Peking on March 12, 1925. His much regretted and premature death was a shattering blow to the cause of the republic in China and plunged the country once again into endless chaos

According to Dr. Sun's last testament, the Kuomingtang, after his death, established the National Government at Canton with Wang Ching-Wei as its Chairman. In January, 1926, an all-China Congress was convened in the city, which appointed General Chiang Kai-Shek as the Generalissimo of the Nationalist forces in its drive against the Northern Government. In July, the expedition started from Canton and within the next few months, all the provinces to the south of the Yang-Tu river fell into the hands of the Generalissimo. In April 1927, the National Government shifted the Capital to Nanking, which has ever since been the Capital of the country. By 1928, the whole country was under the rule of the National Government. It was a most spectacular success for the Nationalist Military expedition, unparalleled in the long history of China. With the final overthrow of the warlords, the first stage of the natural development of a republic as adumbrated by Dr. Sun, may be said to have ended and the next stage, 'the period of political tutelage' commenced under the auspices of the Kuomingtang.

During the days of the Expedition, there were two great obstructions which frustrated the complete realization of China's goal. One was Japan's criminal lust for land in China and the other was, the continual interference of the Third International from Moscow.

China's internal troubles have always been the signal for foreign aggression in the country. The spectacular victories of the Nationalist Military Expedition brought in sight the complete unity of the nation. But that would have meant the complete annihilation of Japan's ambition in China. Japan, however, lost no time and invaded the Shantung province without any provocation, captured the capital Tsinan and attempted to thwart the further advance of the Expedition, which however was not successful. But this only acerbated Japan's feelings and in 1931, taking advantage of the disastrous flood in the Yangtze valley, Japan again invaded the three Eastern provinces, took Jehol and founded that interesting state "Manchukuo", (which rightly may be better termed a Japanese Limited Liability Company). Japan has however done one great thing for China—her aggrandizement has effectively stiffened the resistance of the people and has made the entire nation extremely nationalistic.

The trouble from the communist sources is of another nature No right thinking person would but regret the split between the communists and the Kuomingtang. Most of the communists were clever and brave young men. At first, they willingly accepted the principles of the Kuomingtang as formulated by Dr. Sun and offered their allegiance and full support to Dr. Sun. But, later on it was found to be mere camouflage and strategy. They utilized the Kuomingtang for their own end and at long last came the inevitable clash with the Kuomingtang. In 1927, the party leaders had to bring into action a big mop and sweep the undesirable communists out of the Kuomingtang, who now openly banded themselves into a distinct Chinese Communist Party and began their struggle of strength with the Nationalists' forces. Later on, the Communists founded a Chinese Soviet Government in the province of Kiangsi and carried on their quixotic class war in which massacre of the dissentient was the only principle of action. The Kuomingtang soon after began direct military action against the Kiangsi Soviet Government and completely vanquished the communists by their superior military strength. But the communists themselves have been, wisely enough, very generously treated by the national government; many of them have now realized the folly of their past actions and have recanted and joined the Kuomingtang. Such united efforts can only make a great future for the nation and ward off foreign invasion and commercial exploitation.

In spite of all these difficulties, the Northern military expedition has been pre-eminently successful. Today the National Government is well established all over the country and enjoys the allegiance of the entire Chinese nation. If there were no communist trouble and Japanese invasion, its future would have been much more bright.

V

The System of the Present Government and Its Policy.

It has been mentioned before that with the inauguration of the Northern Military Expedition, the centre of National Government was shifted to Nanking. After some further much-needed re-organisation, it was decided to embark upon the second stage of political emancipation, known as the Period of Political Tutelage. In May,

1931, a National Convention was convened in Nanking which discussed and passed the Provisional Constitution of the Tutelage period. It was based entirely on the celebrated Principles of National Reconstruction of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. The Convention also revised the Organic Laws of the National Government to conform with the Provisional Constitution. According to the revised Organic Law, the state activities are grouped under the Central Government and the various Local Governments. The Central Government is headed by a Chairman, who must be an elderly person of eminent virtue. He has no direct political responsibilities, even though he is the titular head of the State for the time being. Under the National Government there are five Yuans, which may be, but not with exact precision, described as Super-Ministries. The five Yuans are (I) The Executive Yuan, (II) The Legislative Yuan, (III) The Judicial Yuan, (IV) The Examination Yuan and (V) The Control Yuan. Each Yuan has a President, a Vice-President and a few ministers. The Executive Yuan has a greater number of ministers and more power than the other four Yuans. The Executive Yuan in some respects resembles the Cabinet in western countries, though it will be a grave mistake to push the similarity to any great length. The Five Independent Yuans co-exist under the Five-Power Government System, devised by Dr. Sun and they are severally and not jointly responsible to the Kuo-Ming-Tang. Apart from these five Yuans, there are important autonomous Government departments dealing with special problems; such as The National Reconstruction Commission, The National Military Council, The National Economic Council and the Academica Sinica etc. The Local Governments are the provincial Governments, special municipalities enjoying extra ordinary powers, common municipal councils, and the district Governments. The provincial and the special municipal councils are under the direct jurisdiction of the Executive Yuan whereas the common municipal boards and the district Governments are subordinate to the Provincial Administration. Each Provincial Administration has one Chairman and several administrative Officers. The Provincial Government has the following administrative organs. the Secretariat, the Department of Civil Affairs, Department of Finance, Department of Education, Department of Reconstruction and the Peace Preservation Corps. Each special Municipality and Common Municipality has a Mayor with a number

of administrative bureaux. The District Government is under the control of a Magistrate.

The Chairman of the National Government and the President and the Vice-Presidents of all the five Yuans are all chosen from the Central Executive Committee of the Kuo-Ming-Tang. The present Chairman of the National Government is Mr. Lin Shen, the President of the Executive Yuan is General Chiang-Kai-Shek, of the Legislative Yuan Mr. Sun Fo (son of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen by his first wife), of the Judicial Yuan Mr. Chu Cheng, of the Examination Yuan Mr. Tai-Chi-Tao and of the Control Yuan Mr. Yu Yu-Jen. The ministers and the other important officers of the state are appointed by the National Government only on the recommendation of the Executive Yuan.

It is openly admitted that the National Government is based entirely on the party principles of the Kuo-Ming-Tang and as such the party executive has full control over the ministry. The Party is run on a hierarchical basis. At the head of the Party, there is the Central Party Organisation, under it come the various provincial organisations. Under these provincial organisations come the District groups. Under the districts, there are the Locality Groups under which again there are numerous local branches of the party. In the main, the organisation of the Party is remarkably similar to the Congress Organisation in India, if my understanding of the Congress organisational method is correct. Then there is a special branch of the Party carrying on the very important task of keeping in touch with the overseas Chinese members.

The highest authority in any party organisation is vested in the Party meeting. The members and the special members of the Executive and Supervisory Committees are all elected by the Party meeting. The Central Executive Committee is the highest executive organisation of the Kuo-Ming-Tang, whereas the Central Supervisory Committee is the highest supervisory authority. From among the members of the Central Executive Committee is appointed the Standing Committee to carry out the party work and there is a Central Political Council looking after the purely political affairs. The Chairman of the Standing Committee is General Chiang Kai-Shek who today is virtually the Dictator, Military and Civil, of the whole nation.

The Chairman of the Central Political Council is Mr. Wang Ching-Wei who had the reputation of being the 'alter ego' of Dr. Sun in all his political activities. Most of the important political documents published during Dr. Sun's life time are attributed to his able pen.

The present political policy of the Government is based on Dr. Sun's principles, that is, to preserve the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of the country, to resist at all cost further foreign intrusion and to abolish all unequal treaties which were made by the Manchu Government. Now the unequal treaties and the extra-territorial rights of foreign citizens are all abolished and tariff autonomy has also been achieved.

To be quite frank, the only irreconcilable enemy of China today is our neighbour Japan. Japan has indirectly contributed a great good to my people; it is the persistent Japanese aggression that has contributed more than any other single factor to the miraculous unification of the Chinese people. Japan already stands morally condemned at the bar of public opinion of the civilised world; I make bold to assert that before long Japan will also realise that the organised hatred of more than 400 millions of people is too dear a price even for a puppet empire.

THIRD LECTURE.

Economic Development of Modern China.

I

AGRICULTURE.

II

SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND CONSERVATISM.

III

TRADE WITH THE WEST.

IV

THE BREAK-UP OF THE OLD ECONOMY.

V

THE RECENT MOVEMENT FOR ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

THIRD LECTURE.

The Economic Development of China.

I

AGRICULTURE.

Ever since the dawn of civilisation, China has been an agricultural country; it is so even today. The people were taught to till by Emperor Shen Mung more than ten thousand years ago and it was nearly 4,600 years ago that the Yellow Emperor made sericulture a regular industry in the land.

In olden times agriculture was practically the only occupation of the people. It was, as it were, a law of the land, that men should till and women weave. A Chinese proverb says: "For a single man who ceases to plough, some one may suffer from hunger; for a single woman who ceases to weave, some one may suffer from cold." All other professions were looked upon as supplementary means of livelihood. Even those who were Shih Tai Fu or mandarins, took to farming after their retirement from office. Innumerable illustrations may be shown from ancient Chinese poetry depicting in beautiful language the people's love for and attachment to the land. The great sage Mencius wrote thus, "In spring, the prince examined the ploughing and supplied any deficiency of seed; in autumn he examined the harvest and made good any deficiency of yield." The great statesman Kuan Tze also said, "Agricultural products are the only source of wealth of the nation, so the farmers were highly esteemed by the kings of old." He was even prepared to interdict too much literacy, lest the scholars should cease to be able to maintain themselves by their own bodily labour and be dependent on others.

During the monarchy, every spring there would be the great ceremony of tilling when the Emperor himself would tend the plough in the presence of his subjects. The ceremony took place in Peiping in the Temple of Agriculture, known as Hsien Nung Tan in Chinese. Today a considerable change is taking place in Chinese life and there is a very marked decline in agriculture. Farming now gives occupation

to about 75 per cent of the total population according to the latest census, and agriculture still remains the pivot of the national economy.

The ownership of land is a most vital question in agriculture. During the nomadic stage, land belonged to the whole tribe; even when life was more settled and the people were taking to agriculture, land remained the property of the tribe. In Chou Sung, which forms a part of the Book of Poetry, we read,

> "The wheat and seeds which were given by God
> Were scattered over all land by all people."

proving unmistakably the communal ownership of land. The tribes gradually developed into a mighty nation, the conception of ownership was changed but land still remained national property. Let me again quote the Book of Poetry;

> "All the world under heaven is but king's land,
> All the people on land are but king's subjects."

King here, however, does not mean the person but the office, the state or better expressed, the nation. That is to say, the land was still looked upon as national property. The government distributed the land to the people and imposed a tax on them. The land was owned by the people, and used by the people. This land policy was represented in the Chien Tien system which I have already discussed in my first lecture. But trouble arose as the nation was represented by the king and the conceptions of king and nation got intermingled. The king very soon came to look upon the land as his own property and began to parcel it out at his sweet will amongst his favourite princes who again in their turn distributed all surplus land amongst their own kith and kin. Thus what was essentially public became in course of time private royal property. Gradually, land became merchandise; it could be bought and sold privately. There are however certain peculiarities about the system of private ownership of land in China. One is that, though the land is privately owned, there is still a good percentage of it held by the public. Secondly, though land can be bought and sold privately, it has never got concentrated in a few hands,

That is to say, China is not given to landlordism; there are no big territorial magnates in the country. According to the latest investigations into the question, we find that the owners who possessed 50 to 100 mows of land numbered only 9 p. c. of the whole population. It is only 5 p. c. who own more than 100 mows. Most people own only a few mows or a few tens of mows. The number of absolutely landless people is quite insignificant. So, the great question of landless people and farmers which is baffling solution in most of the other countries does not really exist in China. Now the national government out of deference to Dr. Sun's land policy is investigating intensely into the land question and trying to bring about a really communistic system of land owning.

China is vast in area and rich in her natural products. As China is an old agricultural country, naturally agricultural products take the lead in the nation's wealth. Rice, glutinous rice, wheat, barley, millets, soya beans and innumerable other grains and vegetables, hemp, jute, tea, sugar-cane are some of the most important agricultural products.

The country is also immensely rich in animal life. Though exact statistics are not yet available in this regard, it is well known that the domestic animals play an important part in our national economy. The forests are full of furred animals which are slain in large numbers for their fur, mostly exported to the western countries. The forests are also rich in timber products. There are three distinct forest regions: The Three Eastern Provinces, the Province of Fukien and the Province of Hunan. Of these the Eastern Provinces are the biggest in area and the richest in yield. The Fukien forests are particularly rich in Camphor trees which are commercially quite important. The country is equally rich in fishery products, both from the sea and the inland fresh waters. The fishing sea board is 283,500 nautical sq. miles in area. The value of the total yield is nearly 153,472,300 dollars a year.

China is also richly endowed by nature in her mineral requirements, practically all the important industrial and commercial minerals being found in appreciable quantities. The most important ones are: Coal, iron, copper, manganese, tungsten, antimony, gold

silver, petroleum and mercury. According to the estimate of the famous geologist W. H. Wong, China's reserve of coal is 250,000,000,000 tons, sufficient at the present scale of production for at least 10,000 years. The reserve of iron ore is 1,132,801,570 tons but most of it is in Manchuria and if the province is finally lost to China, she will have practically no iron left within her own territories. Tungsten which is rather a rare mineral is found mostly in China. In 1933, the world production in Tungsten was 14,000 tons of which no less than 6,000 tons came from China. China also leads the world in the production of antimony. Should she be able satisfactorily to work all her available mineral resources, China would soon become again one of the richest countries in the world.

Though China has been almost always wholly an agricultural country, she has however long led the world in certain industries, specially Silk and Porcelain wares. It was during the days 'of the Roman Empire that Europe first became acquainted with Chinese Silk and the European importation of Chinese silk which began round about 200 B.C. continued right through the centuries. In the 17th and 18th centuries Chinese silk was the craze in the fashionable circles in Europe. China will also always be remembered for her artistic porcelain wares. Under the Ming Emperors (1368-1644) porcelain manufacture reached its highest variety and perfection. "During this period, direct sea trade with Europe was established and the importation of so fragile and bulky a commodity as porcelain became possible."

II

Self-Sufficiency and Conservatism.

From the very beginning China has been economically self-sufficient and it was not a mere idle boast of the Chinese Emperor Chien Lung when he told Ambassador Macartney that his celestial empire had all things in prolific abundance and that his country needed none of the productions of the "outside barbarians." But he also knew that the outside barbarians needed Chinese products, especially tea, porcelain and silk and the port of Macao was therefore opened up to foreign trade to export these products to the outside world. But China herself needed very little of foreign imports.

Not only did the country as a whole tend to be economically self-sufficient and self-supporting, but even the individual provinces themselves grew all that they needed. For illustration, I may refer to my own province of Hunan which grows more than enough food-stuff for its own requirements; there is therefore a good export trade in these field products. And Hunan is surely no exception. It is not for nothing that the ambitious warlords always tried to seize such provinces to provide them with the much needed funds.

Even the villages live an independent economic life. The food is grown in the village, clothes woven and the simple needs of the people are met with local products. The ordinary Chinese villager has little need of the modern factory produced trinkets which seem to have become a characteristic attribute of the modern age. In the villages fairs are frequently held and are widely attended; these fairs play almost the role of a super-club for the neighbouring villages.

Mencius thus described the life in the villages of olden times:—

> "People hardly ever emigrated out of the village, certainly never out of the district. In the fields of a district those who belong to the same 'nine squares' render all friendly services to one another, aid one another in keeping watch and ward and sustain one another in sickness. Thus the people are brought to live in harmony and affection."

Lao-Tze in his beautiful language described life in the villages thus:—

> "Food is sweet, clothes beautiful; the houses are safe and life merry. Villages are within sight of one another, the dog's bark and the hens' cackle can be heard from the nearby villages and yet the people hardly ever stir out of their own village fields."

This is no exaggeration; even today there are people who have hardly ever gone five miles out of their homes. They have no need to; a Chinese village is a miniature world in itself.

I will go a little farther and claim that even the individual families attempted to live of their own. The men were engaged in farming and the women looked after the homestead and wove in their leisure. Pigs, and fowls and cows, each family invariably possessed; fish was plentiful in the neighbouring ponds and rivers. During the off hours all the members of the family were engaged in some handicraft or other. The current of life flowed smooth and clear.

The economic life of the country was self-supporting and self-sufficient and this naturally gave to the people a conservative outlook on life. But the aim of life was always noble. My people never forgot the great words of the Sage Confucius, who spoke thus:

> "Natural resources of the land should be fully developed and exploited, not for personal benefit but for the common good. The body and mind must be fully taxed, not for selfish purposes but for the good of the society."

The great aim is to have a mind of continence and contentment, a life of exertion and thrift. Our ideal of life therefore is not far removed from the great Indian way of life. I venture to add the similarity is not merely external.

III

Trade with the West.

The description that I have given of China does not hold good today; the situation has fundamentally changed with the beginning of foreign trade, especially with the West. In order to understand fully the transition in the economic life of the country, a brief survey must be made here of the international trade of China.

The foreign trade really commenced with the ending of the Opium War. It is a sad chapter in the history of human relations and civilisation. The Opium War was indeed an abject humiliation for China but it was perhaps a greater moral humiliation for the West. The story will very briefly be told here.

Opium was first imported into China by the Portuguese traders. The quantity imported was very small and was meant solely for

medicinal purposes. By an Imperial edict issued in 1729, the annual importation was strictly limited to a maximum of 200 chests. In 1773 the East India Company got a special charter for the importation of opium grown in Bengal, Behar and Orissa and the British traders began to land huge consignments of opium in Canton, the southernmost province of the country. By 1789, the importation, thanks to the ceaseless activity of the infamous East India Company, had already increased to nearly four thousand and fifty-four chests a year and the commodity had flooded all the markets of the country. The quantity imported was daily mounting up and between the years 1835 and 1839, the average annual import was 30 thousand chests. Nearly a hundred thousand taels of hard-earned Chinese money flowed out of the country every year owing to this pernicious drug. But what was still worse was the demoralising effect on the physique and morals of the hundreds of thousands of opium addicts, throughout the length and breadth of the country. In the long course of her history my country and my people have suffered from all sorts of evils and dangers, but the opium habit undoubtedly has been the most calamitous. It practically cut at the root of our society and civilisation.

The Government however was wide awake to the extreme seriousness of the situation and in 1838, Lin Tse-Hsu, a very able civil servant was appointed the Governor of Canton, for the special purpose of exterminating this dangerous trade. The State had intervened even before this time, but to no effect. Lin began his work very vigorously and exacted guarantees from the foreign merchants in Canton as well as from ship's officers that they would no longer import the drug into the country. He got them to testify on oath that they would submit their boats to search by Chinese Excise officials and in case of any opium being detected, the ships would be forfeited to the State and the law-breakers punished with death. Later on he got the British merchants at Canton to surrender to him twenty thousand, two hundred and ninety-one chests of opium which were publicly burned. This was the immediate cause of the Opium War which began in 1840 and ended three years later.

At first things did not go well for the British as the fort at Canton was particularly strong and they had to concentrate their attention in the northern zone. The Manchu Government, however

was already tottering and it could hardly offer any sustained resistance and Chinese capitulation came soon after. By the Treaty of Nanking China paid an indemnity of nine million dollars to Britain for her loss in the opium trade, an additional indemnity of 12 million dollars for military losses, ceded Hongkong and opened up a number of important trading centres as Treaty Ports. Opium was not even mentioned in the treaty much less was there any provision for its suppression.

Since the establishment of the National Government a crusade has been started against opium but the evil is still there. It is indeed a shame for my country, even though the shame must be shared equally by the West.

Before the Opium War, foreign trade was strictly restricted to Kwangchow and Macao. Apart from the ill-famed opium, the imports into the country mostly consisted of watches, clocks etc. whereas the exports were mainly silk, tea, porcelain wares and rhubarb. With the ending of the Opium War, many other European nations turned for trade towards China and the weak Manchu Government opened up one port after another, to these foreign nations. When the Manchu dynasty came to an inglorious end in 1911, no fewer than 100 ports, spread all over the land, had been opened up as Treaty Ports. Cheaply produced factory goods soon flooded all the markets in the country and native cottage industries began to languish. Here again we find a close parallel between China and India. The commercial exploitation of my country at the hands of European nations has not been a whit less than that of your own land. Our two nations are like two sisters in misery.

In 1864 the foreign imports into China were valued at 51,293,578 Haikwan taels, in 1931 the amount had risen to the preposterous figure of 1,433,489,194 taels. The export figures for the same two years are 54,006,509 taels and 909,475,525 taels. This is not international trade but the strangling of one nation by another. Immense foreign capital has been sunk in China, most of the mines are even today being worked by foreign concerns, and the currency was also controlled by the foreigners for a long period.

IV

The Break-up of the old Economy.

With the beginning of foreign trade various violent changes have taken place in the life of the people which may be enumerated here.

(1) There has been a marked concentration of wealth in the Treaty Ports and with the gradual decay of the villages these ports and the cities with large foreign settlements have become more important politically and socially. Formerly Chinese cities had little or no commercial importance; they were more famed as centres of culture and learning. Shanghai, over which unfortunate city today Chinese and Japanese death-dealing shells are pouring, was a miserable sparsely populated village less than a hundred years ago. It was opened up as a Treaty Port by the Nanking provisions and soon began to develop. Today it is a centre of commerce, industry and communications with a population of three millions of people. It has a vast foreign concession with tens of consulates and a huge foreign population. It is mostly through Shanghai that the western powers have their grip upon Chinese economic life. Shanghai is however not the only port of its kind.

The villages have lost their importance and there is a definite wave of emigration from the derelict rural areas to the fast growing cities. And yet, China is an agricultural community. The loss of the villages is really a final loss for the whole nation. The cities are so foreign and removed from realities.

(2) Secondly, we have to take into account growth of capitalism and the development of limited liability trading companies. Both of these are foreign importations. In any society, at any time, there will be differences of wealth between individual and individual, between family and family, and between class and class. There were such differences even in the golden period of Chinese Civilisation. But we had no class to compare with the Western Capitalists.

Chinese Commerce had always been in the hands of small traders: there had been no pooling of resources and no attempt at black-mailing society through the formation of limited liability companies and huge mergers. Each farmer in a way was also a trader.

The merchants who were really middlemen between the producers and consumers were always looked upon as social pests and unmanly creatures. Then came the foreign merchants with their immense pooled-up resources, their factories, their strange unfamiliar business ethics. The small traders were all swallowed up by this foreign ogre. The Chinese also learnt the foreign methods of business and success. They also learnt to build factories, to form companies and began to toddle even though with uncertain and faltering steps, along the path of modern capitalism.

(3) With the advent of capitalism, China took to the machine and large scale production. I have already told you that industrially China was quite developed in olden times; but it was a land of cottage industries. There had been no factories and no machines. This change is also directly attributable to foreign traders.

At first they brought their merchandise from their home lands, later on they began to build factories in the country itself and produced their wares on the spot in close proximity to the market. Raw materials were cheap and handy, wages of labour low and it was found a more convenient method of exploiting the Chinese market. They merely brought their capital and supplied their organisational brains, the Chinese did the rest under their direction.

To the pioneering foreign traders China was a veritable Eldorado. According to Prof. G. H. Blakeslee of the Clark University, (U. S. A.) the total amount of foreign investments in China is in the neighbourhood of 4,000,000,000 dollars. That is, roughly speaking ten dollars for every man in the land, certainly a very creditable performance.

Here also, the Chinese soon learnt the lesson imparted by the foreign exploiter and themselves took to factory building. According to the latest statistics, there are today no fewer than 1,795 large factories covering all sorts of industries in the country.

(4) The last and perhaps the most important effect of international trade in China has been the growth of foreign banks and their power of controlling and manipulating the state currency. Indigenous banks for the depositing of the surplus wealth and as a means of exchange have been in existence in China from very

ancient times but they were mostly insignificant local organisations which individually had no power or force. The Foreign Banks came in the wake of foreign manufacture and trade on a large scale in the country. These banks soon secured the legal rights to issue paper currency and began to wield considerable power in manipulating the national currency. The Chinese also followed suit in the field of banking as in other fields and very soon there was quite an apprecia. ble number of Chinese banks run, more or less, on western methods. According to the latest figures available there are today 106 Chinese banks and 24 foreign banks actually operating in the country. The Chinese banks however compare unfavourably with the foreign banks, so far as their assets and activities are concerned.

Towards the end of the Manchu rule, the corrupt officers of the State who could feel their impending doom, invested huge sums of their ill-gotten wealth in the foreign banks in order to escape confiscation. But retribution came from an unexpected quarter; during the last Great European War all these foreign banks went bankrupt and their money was irretrievably lost.

Since the establishment of the Republic, the warlords and others who have made money by methods which will not bear ethical scrutiny have again been resorting to the foreign banks in order to save their wealth for themselves and their descendants. In 1925, the total amount of deposits in these banks was 4,947,406,817 dollars; the figure will be considerably higher today. These banks have been playing indirectly a sinister role in our national politics. On the one hand they have been lending money at high rates of interest with good security to the National Government and on the other, the self-same banks have also been lending money to the ambitious war-lords, ever in need of money in their conflicts with one another and with the Central Government. It was one of the contributing factors of the continuous civil wars, about which I have dealt at considerable length in my second lecture.

All these changes would have violent reactions in the life of any nation and in the case of an old country like mine, the effect was felt all the more. It seemed as if China had broken loose from her old moorings.

The villages had lost their importance to the fast growing foreign-dominated cities, agriculture was no longer the only occupation of the people, and in the place of the familiar village craftsman and the trader, one met with fabulously rich entrepreneurs and industrialists; new banks, new factories everywhere. The old country seemed almost ashamed of her past and hurriedly put on the new garments as fast as possible.

V

The Recent Movement for Economic Reconstruction.

I have dealt at great length with the repurcussions of trade with the western countries in the life of the nation. The old structure of society in every field, be it economic, social or political, virtually collapsed. New values of life confront us today with innumerable difficulties. Within the last few years a new China has arisen. Whether this is an improvement upon the past, it is for Father Time to adjudicate. But the problems of a new world are there and the leaders of the society, as well as the ministers of the National Government have to face them. The difficulty has been aggravated by the immense size of the country and the population.

The Chinese National Government of today is composed of hard-grained realists; they fully understand the great importance of the economic problem. It will be recalled that Dr. Sun himself had paid great attention to the agrarian problem and the material side of life had figured quite prominently in his final programme.

In 1931, the National Economic Council was inaugurated to devise a detailed programme of economic reconstruction and take complete control of reconstruction work. Within the last few years, there is a marked economic revival, thanks mainly to the Economic Council, which augurs well for the future.

The National Government has achieved considerable success in the great task of rehabilitation of the nation's financial resources. Before the establishment of the Republic, the finances of the country were always in a state of extreme chaos. No budgets were ever published and the important officers of the State hardly felt any

necessity of maintaining a line of demarcation between their private income and that of the nation.

In 1930, the national budget was published for the first time and a Controller-General of National Finance appointed. Since then every year a detailed statement of the income and expenses of the Government is published. Formerly there was no clear division of financial powers between the Central Government and the Provincial Governments, causing great difficulty and often unpleasantness. Now this problem has been very satisfactorily solved. Some of the taxes have been specially given over to the Local Governments while some others have been ear-marked for the Central Government.

The illegal taxes which used to be regularly levied upon the innocent populace have all been discontinued; gone also are the days when a successful warlord would fall upon a district and exact taxes ten, twenty years in advance. The Farm Tax, the chief Provincial Tax was readjusted in 1930, with three special safe-guards for the people. Firstly, the Farm Tax can never be levied in advance, secondly, no special tax can be levied exceeding in amount the regular tax, and thirdly, the combined Farm Tax and any special taxes that might be levied cannot exceed one per cent of the annual value of the farm. With the reformation of the system of taxation, there has been decided improvement in the national income. In 1928 the revenue was 260,000,000 dollars; in 1933 it had increased to 660,000,000 dollars.

The second great achievement of the National Government has been in the realm of monetary reform. Formerly, China had two systems of currencies; the silver dollar was the common means of exchange whereas the silver Tael was the only legal tender for revenue purposes and for bank transactions. The ratio of exchange between the two currencies fluctuated sometimes even violently, causing great uneasiness in the money market. This chaotic system was not only inconvenient but positively harmful to society. One usually suffered a great loss in exchange and then there was always an element of uncertainty in these transactions.

The Government tackled the evil first by reorganising the banks. The Central Bank which was already a Government Bank was

thoroughly reformed and its capital greatly increased. The Government also took over two other banks, the Bank of Communications and the Bank of China and increased their share capital too. The Central Bank was given the monopoly of issuing the legal tender, the Bank of Communications was specially chartered to deal with industries and the Bank of China was made into an international bank. Next, the coinage was reformed, the old coins were all withdrawn and a uniform new standard Dollar put into circulation. China has now as stable a currency as possible, considering that silver is the specie used.

The Government's next spectacular success has been in the development of communications. China has suffered immensely from want of good roads; we have only to remember the area under the control of the government to realise the extreme necessity of maintaining good means of communication. Railways and the inland steamship companies were all practically under the control of foreign capitalists who were more concerned about the exploitation of the economic resources of the country than anything else. With the establishment of the National Government every endeavour has been made to improve the inland communications by road, rail and river. In 1921, the total mileage of highways in the country was merely 1,185 kilometres, in 1931 it had already risen to 98,161 kilometres and in 1936 it was 158,500. It is a record which would do credit to any Government. The railways are also rapidly being extended, though naturally the progress is not so swift as with ordinary highways. Shipping and aviation are also being energetically pushed forward. In the recent wars and skirmishes with Japan, Chinese aviators have given good account of themselves.

The Government has always taken great pains in improving the condition of the rural country. There is a definite movement with "Back to the land" as its slogan under direct Government inspiration. A large number of advanced agricultural colleges have been established all over the country, and there is a veritable network of primary and secondary schools specially catering to the needs of the rural areas. Most of the schools are entirely free and are widely being patronised by the rural people.

The Co-operative Movement is also playing an important role in the economic development of the country. Beginning with merely 25 Co-operative Societies in 1924, there are today no fewer than [redacted] such societies covering every conceivable field of economic activity.

Judged by material facts it has to be admitted that the National Government has done wonders in the improvement of the financial and economic condition of the country. Imports are steadily going down whereas the exports are mounting up. Though the balance of international trade is still very much against us, the situation is improving daily. During the period of January to June in 1935, the excess of imports over exports was 289,3 7,000 dollars, it had come down to 127,069,000 dollars during the same period in 1936. Let us hope the Government will continue to take the same interest in rural people and their improvement, for China as a nation still lives in her hundreds of thousand villages.

FOURTH LECTURE.

The Social Progress of Modern China.

I.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

II.

THE FAMILY SYSTEM OF CHINA AND THE POSITION OF WOMEN

III.

ETHICS & MORALS, CEREMONIES & CUSTOMS

IV.

THE NEW CULTURE MOVEMENT

V.

THE NEW LIFE MOVEMENT

THE FOURTH LECTURE

The Social Progress of Modern China.

I

The Social Structure

From very ancient times, Chinese philosophers like Sun-Tzu, Kuan-Tzu, Han-Tzu, Shang-Tzu and many others have deeply thought over social problems and fundamentals of human relationship and Sociology as a subject of intellectual speculation has quite a long history in China. Sun-Tzu in one of his books wrote thus:

"Water and fire may have breath but no life; trees and grass may have life but no sense (knowledge); birds and animals may have sense but no feeling of right and wrong; it is only men who have life, breath, sense and righteousness. It is therefore men who are the most fully developed beings in the world. The man's physical strength is not to be compared with that of the cattle; his speed is not as great as that of a horse. And yet it is the man who utilizes for his own benefit the animals and the cattle. This has been possible because men can unite whereas animals cannot. But how can men unite? It is the inherent sense of duty in men that prompts them to unite. Duty is properly discharged as men are endowed with feelings of righteousness. They have sense of duty and righteousness and therefore they can harmonise. Because they can harmonise, they can unite. Because they can unite, they have more strength in a collective sense. As they become strong, they can conquer all."

Though his thoughts are here put in rather crude manner and cannot really be treated as science, yet Sun-Tzu in essence does indeed explain the fundamental basis of human excellence and human strength in the realm of animal life.

In the Chinese Social structure, the main divisions are in the following manner:

(I) The Clan Organisation,

(II) The Territorial Organisation,

and (III) The Professional Organisation.

It is well-known that the Chinese people indulge in ancestor worship and the family ties are therefore very strong in them. As such, the clan naturally is the most important social grouping. (According to the celebrated British Sociologist, Dr. Rivers, "the Clan is an exogamous division of a tribe the members of which are held to be related to one another by some common tie, it may be belief in descent from a common ancestor, common possession of a totem or habitation of a common territory." I may add that we, in China, base the clan on descent from a common ancestor.)

Each Clan forms a distinct social unit and each such unit has a splendid common building called the "Family Temple" or the Clan-Hall, named after the Clan. In the clan there are a number of constituent branches and each such branch has a "Branch Temple" or "Branch Hall". Generally speaking, it is in the district headquarters that the Clan hall is situated and the branch halls are to be found in the villages where the branches of the clan dwell. The Clan organisation has at its head the oldest member of the unit and a few other members are elected by the whole group to act as functionaries of the Hall. On the Ancestor's birthday and other seasonal holidays, all the members of the clan gather in the central hall and make their offerings to the Ancestor. All matters pertaining to the clan are discussed and decided upon in the Clan Hall; the same also holds good in case of litigation amongst members of the clan. It is only when arbitration fails, that they resort to the government courts of law. Each clan has its "Clan Geneology" of the "Family History" in which all important events connected with the clan and the dates of birth and death of the clan members are carefully recorded.

The local or parochial feeling is deeply ingrained in the Chinese people and therefore there are numerous local social groupings which play an important part in the life of the nation. In the village areas, there are organisations like the Tu-Ti-Miao or the Local Temple, Sheh-Tsang or the parish granary, Shu-Yuan or the Local Public Institute. In the urban areas, specially in industrialised localities, the chief organisation is the Huei-Kuan, which can be compared to the medieval trade guilds of England.

The Local Temple is the place of public worship and the Society Granary is used as a storehouse of surplus grain in the locality

to serve in times of famine. I understand, there used to be such communal granaries in this county too. The Public Institute maintains a Hall which is largely used for social and other gatherings in the locality. There is an attempt to settle disputes first under the auspices of the local organisations. Only in case of failure are the cases sent up to the courts of law. In the provincial capitals, each district has its splendid District Hall, often with considerable property of its own. Similarly in the national capital, the provinces have their Provincial halls, which provide a central meeting place for the people of the different districts or provinces, as the case may be.

The Professional organisations in China are very old and they have quite a perfect mechanism. All crafts, trades and occupations connected with a particular industry form a unit which is called a Hang or 'line'. All the people engaged in the same profession are called 'Tung-Hang' which can be freely translated as 'of the same line'. There are no fewer than 360 Hangs spread all over the country, connected with the different trades. Each Hang has its head-quarters in a district city or provincial capital with ample funds and is run by an elected council with a regular constitution. The general body of the 'Hang' usually meets twice a year, in spring and autumn, to discuss the conditions of the profession and to devise means and ways of expanding business. The Hang has its Patron God who is regarded as the inventor and protector of the particular trade and on a special day spectacular offerings are made to the God by the members of the Hang.

Beyond these three types of social groups, there are also (1) Secret Societies and Fraternities, (2) Philanthropic Societies and (3) Religious Associations. The Secret Societies, the most famous of which are, the Ko Lao Huei and the Ch'ing Hung Peng are mostly the organisations of vagabonds and wanderers. It will be unwise to minimise the importance of these secret societies; they can do much good as well as harm to society. In recent times most of them have allied themselves with bandits and robbers but some have also joined the various revolutionary societies.

The philanthropic societies run orphanages, widows' homes, rescue homes for minor girls, homes for the disabled and the old and carry on humanitarian work, as in most other countries. There are

innumerable religious societies and semi-religious societies working for their particular aims and objects. It should be pointed out here that there is perfect religious liberty in China and inter-communal riots and feuds are practically unknown.

The characteristic feature of the Chinese social structure is that there is no caste system. The Chinese people formerly were divided into four categories; the Shih or the scholars, the Nung or the farmers, the Kung or the artisans and the Shang or the merchants. Society was thus stratified and the Government's dealing with each group would be different. But movement from one group to another was not denied and it was not the accident of birth but personal talent and aptitude that occasioned the classification. Intermarriage between the different groups was not only permitted but was quite frequent. The scholar was universally respected and he held the highest position in the society. It was the merchant who occupied the lowest rung of the social ladder; he really produced nothing with his own labour and was almost looked upon as a parasite, notwithstanding his wealth.

II

The Family System of China and the Position of Women.

I have already referred to the important role played by the family in Chinese society. The Chinese people lay great stress upon filial piety and parental love and emphasise brotherhood and friendship. Therefore they like to live together and form the big family, an Unenglish expression which I am compelled to use for the lack of a suitable word in that language. The Chinese family is really a 'Gross familie' as they say in German.

An ideal family in China is a large home which consists of parents and grand-parents, brothers and their wives, children and grand-children. Such a family is usually called a "Wu Tai Tung Tang", which means 'five generations living together.' Such a family was praised by the Government and honoured by Society. Ten members in a family is quite common; there are families which number its members by the hundred. Some years ago, all the papers in the country flashed the picture of an old scholar of the name of Li Ching-Yun and published detailed records of his life and work. He was born in 1660, lived for 258 years, married 14 times and had 180 children. It

is quite an authentic story, as testified by the people of the locality and Government records. I myself am well acquainted with a family in Shanghai which consists of nearly a hundred members who form a regular state of their own in the family, having regular family meetings, family police and family journal. In such a family all the members, irrespective of their age, sex or occupation have their duties and obligations. The family generally holds property in common for the benefit of the whole family; but the individual members are also permitted to hold private property of their own which, however, in times of need, can be merged into the common family property.

The beauty of such a big-family system is the spirit of love, unity, mutual help and co-operation which permeates the members. But it is not without great drawbacks; for one thing, the younger members generally become indolent, being assured of a comfortable livelihood by the family corporation. Individual personality suffers and quarrels, disastrous quarrels, are not altogether unknown. Now the old family system is breaking down, specially as a result of the contact with the West. Most of our scholars who go to Europe and America for higher education, generally come back with a foreign wife in their baggage, who prove rather intractable to the old system. If the foreign trader has broken down our hoary economic system, the foreign wife has also played her part in breaking down the old family system. It has almost disappeared from our midst.

Now let me discuss the position of women in our society. The family, as I have said before, is the centre of Chinese society and in the family, let me add, the wife is the centre of authority and power. The Chinese people from very old times have stuck to the idea that men should not interfere in the internal affairs and duties of the home, reserving this as the special field of female authority. Our oldest classic, Yi-Ching or the Canons of Change says, "Woman occupies her rightful place inside, and man outside the home". And Li-Ching or the Book of Rites, also says, "Men discuss not of internal affairs and women not of external affairs." The wife is therefore really the centre of authority in the family and her power is really great,—even more than that of the emancipated woman in the West. The husband is entirely controlled by her. We are all hen-pecked husbands in China. Many husbands who behave like brave lions outside turn into

meek lambs as soon as they cross the family portals. A popular Chinese proverb says, "A hero can easily command a hundred thousand soldiers but it is quite a different thing to manage a single wife". Recently General Chang Hsueh-Liang, the leader of the Non-Resistance Movement revolted in Sian-Fu while his wife was travelling in Europe. On hearing of the news she immediately rushed back home, declaring "A man without the control of his wife does always create trouble." All this will clearly show the great importance of the wife in the family system.

But in spite of her great powers, she still occupies a lower place in society than her male counterpart. From the ancient records we know that once upon a time, society in China was a matriarchate; woman must have then occupied a higher position than man. But that has been substantially changed during the years that have passed. The sages and philosophers in different ages have made from time to time innumerable laws restraining the powers of women and lowering their social status.

According to the old Classic Li-Chi or the "Records of Official Rites", the woman is expected to fulfil three obligations, called "San-Tsung" and she is to be endowed with four virtues, "Ssu-Teh". Her three obligations are, (1) subjection to the father when a maiden, (2) subjection to the husband when a wife and (3) subjection to the son when widowed. Her four virtues are (1) Chastity and piety, (2) Refined and restrained speech and power of pleasant conversation, (3) Graceful manners and politeness and (4) Efficiency in domestic duties like cooking, weaving, sewing and general housewifery.

Brought up from her earliest years under a strict supervision and training, the Chinese woman as a rule, has a fine character and a good temper. In our society, the ideal woman is "Liang-Chi" and "Hsien Mu", meaning "a good wife and a kind mother."

Though the purdah is unknown and women go about unveiled, strict decorum is maintained in ordinary social intercourse between the two sexes. We do not yet easily tolerate the sight of men and women promenading the public street arm in arm, nor do we relish the spectacle of men and women clasping each other and pirouetting on a lippery floor to the music of a jazz band in the name of dancing.

That still seems ungracious in our eyes; not that Young China does not indulge in these latest importations from the West.

Since the establishment of the Republic, perfect legal equality has been established between man and woman and the National Government has done much to better the conditions of the womenfolk. Co-education is practised on a small scale but most of the girls are sent to schools and colleges specially provided for them. Women have also taken their proper share in the political activities of the nation and women take part in political demonstrations and processions. The Civil Service has been thrown open to women and already there are a good number of them employed in different important bureaux under the National Government.

III

Ethics and Morals, Ceremonies and Customs.

Chinese Society is based upon ethical principles. We may say the whole social structure is an ethical structure and the whole social relation is an ethical relation. As between man and man, close or distant in relationship, older or younger, a minute distinction and precedence and order are established. Take for example, the style of addressing: Between brothers and sisters, the elder is called "Hsiung" and "Tzu", the younger "Ti" and "Mei", the elder brother of the father is called "Po", the younger "Shu"; the father's sisters are called "Ku" according to order; the mother's brothers and sisters are in order called "Chin" and "Yi"; the wife of father's elder brother is called "Po-Mu", the wife of father's younger brother "Shu-Mu"; the husband of father's sister is called "Ku-Fu"; the wife of mother's brother is called "Chin-Fu"; the husband of mother's sister called "Yi-Fu"; sons of father's brother are called "Tang-Hsiung-Ti" daughters are called "Tang-Tzu-Mei"; so on and so forth. It is quite different from the western custom to address all the brothers as "brother", all sisters as "sister", all uncles as "uncle", all aunts as "aunt", all nephews as "nephew" and all nieces as "niece"; without distinctions of the elder and the younger, the near and the distant.

The ethical relations of Chinese society are originally classified under the terms of "San-Kang" or Three Bonds, "Lu-Chi" or Six Orders, "Wu-lun" or Five Relationships, and "Chiu-Tsu" or Nine

Generations. The three bonds are: those between (1) the Prince and his subjects, (2) parents and children, and (3) husband and wife. The six orders are: (1) father and father's brothers, (2) brothers and sisters, (3) clan, (4) mother and mother's brothers, (5) Teachers, and (6) friends. The five relationships are (1) Parents and children, (2) Prince and subjects, (3) Husband and wife, (4) brothers and sisters, and (5) friends. The nine generations are four generations above, i.e. the parents, the grand parents, great-grand-parents, great great grand-parents and four generations below i.e. children, grand-children, great-grand-children, and great-great-grand-children. Besides, there are, for usual social intercourse, three relationships in common: they are those of (1) the family, (2) Relatives, and (3) friends.

As Chinese society is based on ethical principles, it lays much stress on morality, for morality is the essential element of ethics, and without morality there can be no ethics. On the other hand, if there is no ethics, there could be no morality. Hence ethics and morality are the 'two in one', or 'one in two' like the reverse and the obverse of a coin. The Chinese sages through all the ages have set up numerous laws and rules for moral standards. Among the most common and important ones, there are first "Wu-Chang" or Five ethical laws, namely: "Jen", benevolence, "Yi"—justice, "Li"—etiquette, "Chih"—wisdom and "Hsin"—faithfulness; secondly, "Szu-Hsing" or Four forms of obligatory conduct, namely: "Hsiao"—filial piety, "Ti"—brotherliness' "Chung"—loyalty, and "Hsin"—faithfulness; thirdly, "Szu-Wei", Four National Pillars, namely: "Li"—etiquette, "Yi"—justice, "Lieu"—incorruptibility, and "Chih"—sense of shame. Besides, there are many other moral terms; they are two many to be narrated here. In recent times, the late national leader Dr. Sun has summarized all the great teachings of the great teachers of the world and set up a new moral standard called "Pa-Teh", the eight virtues. They are: (1) "Chung"—loyalty, (2) "Hsiao"—filial piety, (3) "Jen"—benevolence, (4) "Ai"—love, (5) "Hsin"—faithfulness, (6) "Yi"—justice, (7) "Ho"—harmony, and (8) "Pin"—peace. Now-a-days, the people of China observe these eight virtues as a new national morality.

China was called a country of ceremonies by her own people as well as foreigners. There are very few countries in the world, having so many ceremonies. The so-called "Three hundred rites" and

"Three thousand manners" are rather too cumbersome, too multifarious and too troublesome. Here I shall refer to only some common ceremonies about the marriage and the funeral. Marriage in China is regarded as the most important event in life; and so that ceremony is also the most long-drawn. In the long process of a marriage, beginning from the betrothal up to the wedding, there are the so-called "Six Ceremonies". They are: (1) "Na-Tsai" or Presenting for selection, a formal proposal; (2) "Wen-Ming" or asking the girl's name, (a girl's name was not supposed to be asked until the engagement;) (3) "Na-Chi" or presenting good luck, the formal betrothal; (4) "Ching-Chi" or asking the wedding date, the month and the day being selected; (5) "Na-Ching" or presenting compliments, gifts of jewels, clothes, etc; and (6) "Chin-Ying" or personal welcome, the bride-groom would go to the bride's house and take her home. On the wedding day the bride and the bride-groom are the most honoured persons. When the bride is to be received at the bride-groom's house, she is carried, on a very beautiful sedan chair called the "Emperor's Chair" or the "Flowery Chair", by four or eight persons and accompanied by music and procession. When they reach the bride-groom's home, the first act is to worship the heaven and the earth; secondly, they worship the past ancestors, and thirdly, the bride and the bride-groom stand face to face and salute each other in mutual reverence. Then the bride and the bride-groom are escorted to the wedding room, attended by a pair of burning red candles; and they are to sit on the wedding bed before the candles and to drink the wedding wine from one and the same cup. At this time, all relations and friends bestow upon them congratulations and make jokes, putting the new couple, who had longed for a meeting and met now for the first time, into a very inconvenient situation, with burning faces and red ears. As soon as this is done, the wedlock is considered to have been sealed. On the next morning, the newly married couple is to be introduced to the parents, sisters, brothers and all other members of the family and then to the outside relatives and friends, who are present. And on the wedding occasion, both families, the bride's and the bride-groom's, are to give very big feasts for at least one or two days. Within the first month the bride is entirely to be a guest in her husband's home, every day adorning herself and being invited by relations and friends for banquets. At the end of the honeymoon she returns to her parents for a three-days' visit and thereafter abandons the title of a bride and assumes all the duties of a household, and prepares herself

for the responsibilities of motherhood. In the old days of China the marriage was wholly arranged by the parents and the go-betweens, both the boy and the girl themselves not being consulted. But in modern times, the young men and women mostly like to be free from their parents and marry themselves out of mutual love. And the ceremony has also been changed. Very recently, in Shanghai and other big towns, a new system has been established, called the "Tzi-Tuan-Chieh-Huen" meaning collective or group marriages. This, in fact, indicates a great revolution in Chinese marriage customs.

Funeral is also a very important event in China. According to the tradition, marriage implies the great responsibility of the parents towards their children, while the funeral implies a great duty on the part of the children towards their parents. Therefore, when the parents pass away, the children are considered to be "bound in great duty". For hundred days, they refrain from shaving, wine-drinking, meat-eating and going out and wear natural white, rugged hemp clothes and a mourning cap, and sit in a crouching position at the side of the dead body. At the same time, an obituary is issued, condemning themselves for the guilt to the parents' death. All relatives and friends who receive the obituary must go to offer their sacrifice to the dead and condolences to the bereaved children.

The Chinese funeral system is to bury the dead body under the earth. Immediately after the death the dead body is to be bathed by one of the nearest relations and dressed with specially made new silk dresses; then it is put in a beautiful and valuable coffin, placed in the centre of the family hall for friends and relatives coming to offer condolences and sacrifices. On the third day after the death, the coffin is sealed and a wooden tablet, inscribed with the name of the dead with the date of birth and death, is then set up and worshipped. After a period of 49 days has passed, an auspicious date and a suitable place are selected for the burial. On the burial day, a glorious ceremony is performed. The coffin is luxuriously decorated and carried by from 8 to 64 persons. The sons and grand-sons walk in front of the coffin, each supported by a stick. The other relations and friends escort on both sides and females follow the coffin in carriages. The musical party and the ritual attendants, Buddhist monks and Taoist priests, chanting their religious mantras are arranged in the front and the rear. The pomp of this procession is greater than that of the marriage festival.

Among the Chinese customs, the most common ones are: (1) Play-exhibitions, and (2) seasonal festivals. The Chinese farmers: during their leisure time, always hold many sorts of play-exhibitions such as "Ta-Tung" or the lantern-play, "Wu-Shih" or the play of the lion, "Wu-Lung" or play of the Dragon and "Chang-Hsi" or dramatic entertainments. The Play of the lantern is a kind of public gathering, all villagers gather together, each holding a burning lantern in a big procession, marching with music from village to village. The designs of lanterns are very curious and interesting. The play of the lion and the play of the dragon both presuppose some physical and military exercise. The Play of the lion is with one man disguised as a lion and two boys disguised as monkeys each holding a silk tassel, playing together. As soon as the lion snatches the tassel from the monkeys, the monkeys, run away at full speed. Then the other men in the party begin to perform several sorts of drill, such as high and long jump, boxing, sticks, swords etc. The play of the dragon consists of many dragons made of paper, cloth, and grass, each dragon being carried by several persons, some long ones even by hundred persons, performing many kind of movements, coiling themselves up, jumping and creeping exactly like reptiles. The dramatic performances mostly present historical stories, heroic novels and some other comedies and tragedies with music and dance. Most of the villages hold these entertainments once a year or in several years, by turn, from five days to ten days or from half a month to one month. When such plays are performed, there is an exhibition, of all kinds of village products, and buying and selling, take place exactly after the fashion of the Indian Melas.

The Chinese people, like the Indians, are very fond of festivals. Among them the "New Year" festival is the biggest. From the first to the fifteenth of the first month by the Chinese Calendar the "New-Year" festival is celebrated. Every house and every hut is decorated with lanterns and festoons, and the doors and windows are adorned with red paper on which lucky words and classical proverbs are written. All kinds of amusements are given and all villagers are invited for the banquets. Next to the New year, come the "Tuan-Wu" festival on the 5th day of the 5th month and the "Chung-Chiu" festival on the 15th day of the 8th month by the Chinese calendar. The former is the famous "Dragon Boat Race" festival, also called the "Summer Festival", and the latter is the famous "Middle Autumn

Moon Enjoyment" festival also called the "Autumn Festival". Next to these, come the "Ching-Min" festival on the 3rd day of the third month and the "Chung-Yuan" festival on the 15th day of the 7th month by the Chinese calendar; the former is the decoration day for visiting the ancestors' cemeteries and the latter is the sacrifice festival in the name of the past ancestors. The seventh day of the seventh month is said to be the lucky day for unmarried girls, and the ninth day of the ninth month is the mountain picnic day for scholars and poets for climbing the Hills, drinking wine, singing songs and composing poems. Besides, there are many other festivals, which space will not permit me to mention. But one thing should be noticed that is that all the Chinese festivals are based upon human and seasonal affairs not like the other country's festivals which have a more religious character. Since the establishment of the Republic, the old Chinese calendar has been officially abandoned and the Western system has been accepted, and many Revolutionary Holidays were added. But the people still cling to the old Chinese calendar and their old festivals. This is not only because the old customs are very difficult to break but also because the old Chinese calendar and its festivals are much more congenial than the Western calendar and could not be easily abandoned.

IV

The New-Culture Movement.

China is the oldest civilization of the world, as I have already described in the first lecture, and her people are proud of their own culture and respect it very highly. She has always disseminated her own culture among the peoples that surround her, almost throughout the period of her long history, excepting for the period, when she was influenced by Indian Buddhism. Only since the nineteenth century, when she came into close contact with Western civilization the stable foundations of her culture came to be rudely shaken. Since then, the attitude of the Chinese towards foreigners has also changed completely; they now are inclined to imitate and accept foreign ideas more readily than ever before. We may divide this modern epoch, in which China is learning from the West and imitating her, into three distinct periods.

First period: The Opium War (1840-'42) and the war against the British-French Alliance (1857-'60), in which China suffered

heavy defeats at the hands of the Western powers, mainly due to the modern methods of warfare used by the latter, awakened the Chinese people out of their long slumber. It was natural for them to attribute the European victory to the improved weapons, to the steamers and machine-guns. A sense of respect for the whole European civilization was thus engendered. Henceforward a strenuous effort was made to master the Western technique and at one time it was crowned with such striking success, that the Chinese Navy was reckoned as the second great navy after the British. As however, fate would have it, China was again defeated in 1895, this time by Japan, and the work done by way of improving Chinese naval equipment was entirely undone. After this we enter the second period of the modern epoch of Chinese tutelage.

Second Period: This last defeat led the people to maintain, that mere learning of the technique of war from the West was not enough for the security of the nation. Japan had not only acquired the Western technique of war but also the Western political system and ideals. If, therefore, China wanted to protect herself against further invasions, she must cultivate Western political ideals and learn these ideals, if necessary, from Japan herself. In the wake of these considerations came the two movements, viz. the Constitutional Movement and the Revolutionary Movement, which led to the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of the Republic. The establishment of the Republic, however, did not bring the expected political results; the internal dissensions and foreign aggression still continued. Thus, we enter the third period.

Third period: The condition of internal feuds and external aggression strengthened more and more the Chinese disbelief in their ancient modes of thought, which they considered to be unsuited to modern conditions of the human society. China, if she was to get rid of her troubles for good, must wholly transform her own mental outlook and bring it into harmony with the modern ideas of the West. China must set directly into the whirlpool of Europeon thought by making a short cut to the ideals reached in Europe after a century of upheavals. Accordingly a great impetus was given in China to the study of modern European movements and their principles. This great efflorescence of the Chinese mind, this longing for whatever is new and living in the West, indicates the essence of the New-Culture Movement.

This New-Culture Movement originated in the Peking University and the pioneer of the movement was Dr. Tsai Yuan—Pei, the President of the University. Dr. Tsai who was trained according to the old methods and had passed the highest national examination during the Manchu period, is a typical old Chinese scholar of simple and noble ideals. His ideas, however, are those of the young and the alert and he possesses a large heart, combined with a rare farsightedness. Only under him has it been possible for men of extreme views, old and new, to come together and cooperate. Among the extremists of the left is Chen Tu-Hsiu, then Hu Shih an experimentalist and Lim-Shu a scholar of the extreme old type, all these have come together and they discuss on the same platform the problems of China from the new angle.

Chen Tu-Hsiu had gathered together around him many talented young men. He was the editor of a new magazine, the "New Youth", which levelled powerful and stringent attacks at the old Chinese culture and which used to give shocks and surprises to the whole literate world in China. The admirers of this new organ regarded it as a panacea for all evils, while the antagonists denounced it as the sign of an ominous deluge and a calamity. The articles, published in this Journal, were very influential and thought-provoking e. g. (1) "Revolution in Chinese Literature" by Chen Tu-Hsiu and Hu Shih, which seeks to transform the flow of Chinese thought, through its literature; (2) "A Call", and the "Diaries of a Mad-man" by Lu Hsin, which tries to shake the foundations of the old Chinese ethics and morality; (3) "Superstition and Psychology" by Chen Ta-Chi, which subjects old Chinese beliefs to a psychological analysis and seeks to disprove them. Besides this Journal, may be mentioned Hu Shih's book on "History of Chinese Philosophy" which tries to read the experimentalist views in the old Chinese philosophy by giving new interpretations. Liang Chi-Tsao has written another book, called the "History of Political Thoughts in China, prior to the Chin Dynasty", which is written to give a correction to Hu Shih's ideas. A third book worth noting, is the "Eastern Culture and its Philosophy", by Liang Shu-Ming, who seeks to reconcile both the opposite points of view by giving an original exposition of his own. Each of these books, has its

strong and weak points but each is important and illustrative of the modern spirit.

The effect of this New-Culture Movement has been twofold. On the one hand, it has removed old superstitions and customs and given rise to a new outlook on things; on the other hand, however, it has proved very destructive of Chinese Culture. Dr. Tsai, the promoter of the movement, seeks to bring a reconciliation of the new and the old, the Eastern and the Western, in order to create a new culture. But the followers, who were not sufficiently ripe for the reception of this ideal and many of whose actions were rather puerile, went too far in their assertions, in spite of their good intentions. The social order was thus disturbed to a great extent. Recently, however, the Chinese culture movement has entered into a new phase which has given it the proper direction by turning it to the right channel of activity. This new phase leads us to the introduction of the New Life Movement.

V

The New-life Movement.

The New-Life Movement was started by Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek on the 19th February, 1934 at his headquarters in Nan-Chang This movement showed the only possible road by which China may go in future, although the previous movement had also come round to the right path after much experience. For the last few decades especially during the last one, China had been groping around for a firm foothold and had been learning all kinds of theories and accepting all kinds of new methods. It had discussed many principles and applied all new terms, had shouted various slogans and used different weapons. All this, however, had resulted in nothing hopeful. No way out of the darkness which enveloped political China had been found. Social life had been violently disturbed and a continuation of the condition meant the complete annihilation of the old regime. "A new way must needs be found out, when one is driven into a corner". This old philosophical principle again came into its own. It was like "finding suddenly a vast panorama of beauty and a place of refuge and escape, after having reached the brink of a steep and dangerous precipice, without apparent hope of redemption," as the

Chinese poet says. At this juncture, the New-Life Movement was ushered in and a new forward step was taken by the nation.

The object of the new movement is to take Chinese philosophy and ethics as the foundation of Chinese culture and then to assimilate the Western scientific spirit in order to formulate a new mode of life for the Chinese people. For, China has a long history of several thousand years and her numberless sages during these ages have dealt with the problems of human life and have left a vast amount of experience as a legacy to the Chinese people, which presents an essential aspect of the eternal truth. At the same time, China has been suffering from decay, dissipation and indifference through a long period of her history. The right way was, therefore, to assert the old principles and to rectify the present disorder and defects, through the ancient wisdom, at the same time to keep a broad mind and accept from others whatever is palatable and healthy by adapting it to the present circumstances of China. Thus, the Chinese people could be made happy and given a new and fresh life founded on reason. This new life would give them the right place in the modern world and prepare the way for a glorious future.

The method of ushering in this new life is based upon six principles of organising life, (1) a common uniform, (2) cleanliness, (3) simplicity of life, (4) naturalness of conduct, (5) swiftness and activity and (6) realism. All these six principles must be universally accepted and practised. The aim of these six ideals is to make life (1) disciplined, (2) productive and (3) artistic. (1) Discipline will provide the nation with a loyal and patriotic militia, having swift and uniform actions, and a simple and plain life of obedience to the prescribed rules. (2) Productive activity will make every body add to the wealth of the nation and increase the efficiency of labour, so as to save time and work. It will seek to avoid all unnecessary waste and promote truly national industries. (3) An artistic life will make men independent, humble and peaceful. They must be careful about their own lives and be severe, yet receptive and generous. They must be able to manage their own affairs with readiness, quickness and accuracy. They must practise frugality and economy and purity of life, with a complete absence of corruption.

These are the general principles of organising the new life. In practice each organisation has its own separate rules and regulations founded on these principles, e. g. in Nan-Chang, where the New-Life Movement was started, there are special and detailed rules for shops for places of entertainment, for tea-shops and restaurants, for rebuilding public lavatories, for cleaning the street walls and so forth-altogether not less than several dozens of separate systems of regulation. Beginning from small things like individual food, speech, and actions, the movement tries to comprise within its sphere big problems like national and social order and regularise them on the basis strict of rules. I have heard from many foreign friends praise of the Chinese food. Probably, to them, the whole Chinese civilization appears to be concentrated in the Chinese kitchen. Very few are aware of the other beautiful aspects of the Chinese civilization like morality and fine cultural habits. This attitude is somewhat ridiculous and deserves to be pitied. In fact, the Chinese people entertain only scanty respect to the business of mere eating. As the sage Mencius said: "A man who merely eats and drinks is rightly to be looked down upon by others." No one indeed, can have much respect for one, who has no other aim in life but to eat and drink. Now, however at the head-quarters of the New Life Movement at Nan-Chang, they have made sixteen rules for the "Maker of Chinese food," which is so much relished by the foreigners, and these must be known to every cook. Among these rules are, e. g. (6) the cook must wash his hands quite clean before beginning to prepare food, or after scratching the body or after coming from the lavatory. (7) Rotten foodstuffs must be thrown away and never offered to customers. (9) At no time must the cook remain bare-bodied and bare-footed while in the kitchen. (10) The cook must never sneeze in front of the saucepan. (11) He must put on a soft and light coloured cap and a long apron and white hand-gloves when he is working and these must be washed clean every day. (12) The napkins must always be kept clean and white and must be washed in boiling water daily. (16) The cooks must be careful about the kitchen—fire.

This New-Life Movement has spread throughout the length and the breadth of the country like wild-fire since its inception. The foreigners used to blame the Chinese people for smoking opium too

much. In fact, smokers in China have been very few, but now even cigarettes are sought to be prohibited. Another charge against the Chinese was that they were too much addicted to gambling. In fact, the gamblers too have been very few, but now even commonplace speculation is being brought under control. The Modern Chinese society is thus being moulded quite differently from the old Chinese society. As China had been growing gradually weaker and decayed more and more during the last decades, the foreigners have misunderstood its people very much, thanks to the propaganda of a self-interested neighbour. However, I venture to say that if you desire to understand China properly you must take seriously to a deep and comprehensive study of Chinese culture, history and philosophy and go about in China with open eyes and an unprejudiced mind, and investigate things for yourselves. Only then will there be no chance of misunderstanding this great nation. Again, I venture to say, that if the present efforts of my people for the uplift of the nation are not hindered by outside agencies, in a few years or a few decades, a new Chinese society will be born and be prepared to do its duty and shoulder its responsibilities in the cause of humanity.

FIFTH LECTURE.

What is Chinese Religion?

When I first travelled in India, many Indian friends often asked me a very common and yet very embarrassing question: "What religion do you believe in?" Not knowing how else to answer or evade the question, I replied: "I believe in Chinese Religion". But here again this kind of answer gave rise to another more difficult question namely: "What is Chinese Religion?"

Now "Chinese Religion" is an unfamiliar term, not only unknown to the foreigners but also never heard of even among our own Chinese people. When using that term, I myself felt the novelty of it, and yet I found that was the only proper answer. So my answer to the second question was: "Chinese Religion is Chinese Religion".

Such an answer might be justified logically, but the listener would certainly say, "It is no answer at all," and remain disappointed And yet on my part, it was the only answer I could properly make. This is somewhat analagous to the case of Hinduism. Supposing I ask one of my Hindu friends, "What religion do you believe in?" He may reply, "Hinduism". Then if I inquire of him again, "What is Hinduism?" His reply at the moment might be either. "Hinduism is Hinduism", or "Hinduism is the Religion of the Hindus". For, this kind of Religion is so diverse and so complicated in its components that it cannot be briefly generalized in such a simple answer as, for example, "Christianity is the Religion founded by Jesus Christ," or "Islam is the Religion founded by Prophet Mohammed." But even these answers would hardly be acceptable as satisfactory to our Christian or Muslim friends. So, then, my answer as given above, though not perfectly clear, should be understandable. It emphasises the absurdity of reducing to a simple formula the tangled complex of emotional reactions and intellectual attitudes that have their roots in a people's tradition and come to be called their religion. To think otherwise is to confuse the issue.

Many scholars, Chinese as well as foreign, uphold with one voice that the "religions" of China have all come from outside, such as

Buddhism from India, Zoroastrianism from Persia, Islam from Arabia and Christianity from Europe and America, and that there is no indigenous religion born or produced originally within the country itself. The popular form of "Confucianism", they boldly assert, is no religion in reality, for Confucius was a philosopher, a moralist, a statesman, and an educationist, but no religious leader. They say that the thoughts and teachings of Confucius are ethical philosophy, political theory and educational principle, but not religious philosophy. With regard to "Taoism" also they believe that it is non-religious, for Laotse is not, as popularly believed, the creator of of "Taoism". The prevalent name of "Taoism" actually made its appearance with Chang-Tao-Ling, sometime in the later Han Dynasty in Chinese History, that is, about the Second Century in the Christian Era. The Taoistic art of "witchcrafts" and "magical writings" is absolutely different from the teachings of Laotse. In truth, Laotse is purely a philosopher but no religious leader, and the contents of "Taoism", too, are far from religion. If these views were correct, then China could naturally have no such thing as "Chinese Religion". Again, there are many scholars who regard it a merit and an honour to claim that China is devoid of any religion. They think that a religion, as the very name suggests, cannot be free from the tint of superstition. It is illiberal internally and exclusive externally, not only imprisoning the free thoughts of the people but also arousing hatred and strife inside and outside the various sects. As China has no religion of her own creation, so the Chinese people can be quite free in cogitation and judgment and have neither the habit of bigotry nor the practice of exclusion. They have been spared, so far, the calamity of religious wars, and have been able to welcome every visiting religion from outside, and assimilate it by a gradual process of harmonization. It is, as they say, pleasant as well as fortunate for China to possess these good characteristics in her culture. The late Mr. Liang Chi-Chao, a great modern Chinese scholar, was the foremost of the optimists who held this view. On the other hand, there are others who regard it a national disgrace for China to have no proper religion, and exclaim with sorrow that our people are inferior to other people, and our country is not so good as other countries. With all these different points of views, I cannot and dare not agree. I think China has actually an indigenous religion and

that is "Chinese Religion", of which Confucius and Laotse are both the greatest sages and saints.

But before we try to understand this "Chinese Religion", it is advisable to have first a clear conception of religion. Great philosophers and religious men, such as Kant, Fichte, Spinoza, Hegel, Schleiermacher and many others have at different times worked out various definitions of religion, which it is unnecessary for me to quote here. I should like to define religion, for the purposes of my thesis here, in two ways: one in a strict sense and the other in a broad sense. The former may be called "Strict Religion"; and the latter, "Broad Religion". The Strict Religion must comprise at least five definite conditions: first, a definite Prophet to follow—as Jesus Christ of Christianity and the Prophet Mohammed of Islam; second, a definite Supreme Being to worship—as the God of Christianity and the Allah of Islam; third, a definite communal organization—as Church of the Christians and Mosque of the Muslims; fourth, a definite set of Ascetic Rules to observe—as the Ten Commandments of the Christians and the four fundamental Institutions of the Muslims; and fifth, a definite form of Ceremony to practise—as the Prayer of both the Christians and the Muslims. Such Strict Religion may also be entitled "Constitutional Religion". As for religion in the broad sense, the above-mentioned conditions are by no means essential to its existence. In Chinese language, the term "Religion" is composed of two characters: first, "Tsung", meaning "Respect"; next "Chiao", meaning "Teaching". When put together, they mean "Respect for good teachings". That is to say, the teachings of ancient sages and wise men are highly worthy of popular respect and observance, as guiding factors in their daily lives. In course of time, these teachings have drawn round them the firm and solid faith of the masses and have become in themselves a strong and supreme power. So from this point of view, it follows that every great and valuable teaching, if it comes to be accepted with awe by the people and operates as a living force in their lives, may be called a religion. The teaching of Lord Buddha is a religion, that of Jesus Christ a religion; that of Prophet Mohammed a religion; that of Laotse, a religion; and that of Confucius also a religion. In modern India, the teaching of Sri Ramakrishna has come to be a religion: so also the teaching of

Mahatma Gandhi may come to be a religion, if it is not already so regarded. If my memory does not deceive me, I believe Mr. Bertrand Russell, when lecturing in China in 1920-21, said that the principles of Lenin had become a sort of religion in Soviet Russia. And one American scholar called the San-Min principle of the late Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic, "A Political Bible" and hence the Religion of China. The so-called definite religious conditions are merely a kind of means for a religion to carry out its gospel in effect. Though the form of such means may be different in different religions, yet the fundamental spirit of all religions is the same at the root.

Keeping this twofold aspect of religion in perspective, we may now proceed to understand something of the significance and quality of Chinese Religion and may see how it has come to be what it is. As China is one of the oldset civilized countries in the world, so the origin of her religion is equally remote and ancient. Territorially also China is one of the largest countries and the contents of her religion are equally complex. In tracing the origin and evolution of the religions of the various races, we find they have in most cases evolved from "Totem" to "Worship", from "Fetichism" to "Theism" and from "Polytheism" to "Monotheism". But Chinese religion seems to have followed a different line. In ancient China, there seemed to be no such thing as "Totem", and throughout the old Chinese classics and history, no apparent traces of "Totem" can be found clearly. Though three existed some aspects similar to it to some extent, yet they were different in nature from the "Totemism" of other peoples. As for the worship of living beings such as animals and plants, China has had none of it. From remote antiquity to the present day the Chinese have been worshipping "Tien" and "Ti" or Heaven and Earth, and such natural phenomena as the Sun, Moon, Stars, Cloud Wind, Thunder, etc., and such earthly phenomena as Mountains' Rivers, and the Native Soils. In the past, the emperors, ministers and the subjects had to worship these natural phenomena at different seasons in a prescribed form of sacrificial ceremony; and there were appointed, too, special official to supervise the sacrifices. The Sovereign Emperor, when crowned, must worship Heaven and Earth; the feudal kings, Mountains and Rivers; the common masses, the

Native Soils. The Emperor was also obliged to travel personally for some time or send forth a deputy on particular occasions to offer sacrifices to certain sacred Mountains and Rivers. When any extraordinary event happened there would then be a specific sacrifice. For instance, the Sun must be offered sacrifice in case of a solar eclipse; the Moon, in case of a lunar eclipse; and the Cloud, the Wind, the Thunder, and the Rain, in case of flood or drought. Besides these, different sacrifices accorded with the periodical rotation of the four seasons, Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter. To all these natural phenomena they assigned semi-divine and semi-personal attributes. In other words, they regarded them as personified gods with feelings and volition. And of the natural phenomena, Heaven was the mightiest and supremest, which they sometimes also called "Shang-Ti", the Highest King, or "Tien-Ti", the Heavenly King. They thought that the whole cosmos, natural lawn, mankind, and every being were all created and set in order by Heaven. It is stated in Old Chinese Classics that "Heaven produces all the peoples with things and laws". Even all the vicissitudes of human life, weal and woe, fortune and misfortune, were considered to be dependent upon the will and command of Heaven. And in old Chinese books we often find such statements as: "Heaven favours the good-doer with hundreds of fortunes, and punishes the evil-doer with hundreds of misfortunes". The Emperors styled themselves "Tien-Tzu" or Son of Heaven, for they believed or were tempted to believe that they came by order of Heaven to be Emperors and to rule over the people. That is why in old Chinese historical records it is said that "Heaven orders Wen-Wang to be king", and that "The Son of Heaven acts as a parent of the people and is the sovereign master of the world." Instances of similar nature are too numerous to be quoted. To describe this ideology, it is very hard to find any exact technical term in a foreign language; we may approximately call it "Nature Worship", or "Henotheism" as a branch of "Polytheism", but should not confuse it with "Fetichism". It resembles very much the religious attitude of "the Vedic Period" in ancient India, and the dates of their appearance also more or less correspond to each other.

Eevery religion has a sort of myth about the creation of the world such as the "Genesis" of the Old Testament which says that

God created heaven and earth and all beings in seven days. Such myths are common in China, too. It is popularly believed by the Chinese people that "Pan-Ku", a humanized semi-god with seven hands and eight feet, and eighteen thousand years old, was the Creator who first gave form to the universe and every being. This great work of "Pan-Ku" is similar to that of Brahma. But the Chinese myth is only found in popular anecdotes and cheap novels and not in serious classics and orthodox history, so that it may be regarded as a popular fairy tale rather than as a religious myth, or it may be a popular version of the Indian story of Brahma. And, again, there are stories of "Birth effected by Spirit" in every religion. For instance, Maya, dreaming of a White Elephant, gave birth to the Buddha; Mary was influenced by the Holy Ghost and the result was the birth of Jesus Christ. China is also rich in such fanciful tales. It is said that the mother of Huang-Ti was touched by a brilliant lightning, and then gave birth to Huang-Ti; the mother of Emperor Yao, touched by a Red Dragon, brought to life Yao, and the mother of Emperor Shun, seeing a beautiful rainbow begot the illustrious son Shun. The great philosopher Laotse, it is said, was born after his mother had seen a Shooting Star; the great sage Confucius, after his mother's dream of a Black God. Such tales are too numerous to be mentioned. But as they appear only in records of doubtful sources and not in any authentic classics, they have drawn no faith from the people. Most religions, in the beginning, are also more or less affected by divination or necromancy or fortune-telling. In China the art of divination was rather well-developed; important affairs, public as well as private, were usually first put to a sort of divination so as to see whether the intended affair was lucky or ominous. The male diviner was named "Hsi" or "Wizard", and the female, "Wu"; or "Witch" but generally they were indiscriminately called "Wu-Hsi" or "Necromancers". Mention of this sort of art can even be found in ancient classics and historical accounts, and the oldest Chinese classical book, "Yi-Ching" or "Philosophy of Change", is regarded by some people as a sacred book of divination. In reality, however, the book of "Yi-Ching" is the most ancient and most valuable book of philosphy, somewhat similar in nature to the Vedas of India. Its fundamental significance is an exposition of the natural mystery of the universe, and divination has if at all, very little, to do with its underlying ideas.

The aspects mentioned above were the general aspects of Chinese Religion in the earliest stage. In course of time Chinese Religion has gradually transformed itself from the worship of natural phenomena and gods to that of human beings. This worship may be classified into two kinds: first, the worship of Great Sages and Heroes, and second, the worship of deceased Ancestors. The former kind of worship precedes the latter and may be regarded as a prelude to it. Besides, these ancestors were at first, in fact, no other than the Great Sages and Heroes, for the family system had not yet developed to the extent that made ancestor worship possible. It is said in one old classical book, "All beings originated from Heaven; all mankind, from one ancestry"; and the remote ancestors are our benefactors and partrons". It was not till the latter half of the Chou Dynasty known as the "Eastern Chou Ages" (770-247 B. C.), when great sages and philosophers like Laotse and Confucius made their appearance and human knowledge was immensely enriched that Chinese Religion underwent a striking revolution. The first attack on the traditional worship of Tien and Ti or Heaven and Earth was made by Laotse who said, " neither Tien nor Ti is benevolent, for they make fools of all beings and let them devour one another." Laotse aimed at exploring the natural phenomena of the universe with philosophical reasoning and inferences in order to establish a profound "natural philosophy". He said on one occation 'Man copies Earth ; Earth, Heaven; Heaven, **Tao** (Process); and **Tao**, "Nature"; and on another, " Heaven, Earth and all beings are born of "Being"; and Being, of Nothingness"; and on a third occasion, "Previous to the formation of Heaven and Earth there exists something, shapeless and secret, independent, changeless and rotatory without fatigue, which may be the sole Mother of the Universe ; not knowing how to nominate it, I choose to name it 'Tao' or the Great Process." It is, then, clear that Laotse regarded the universe and all beings as the resultant effect of a natural process, beyond both the power of humanity and any creative will of Heaven or God. Hence, the best way for human life is to follow Nature and to be harmonized with it; otherwise, artificialities in life will not only do harm to Nature but also lead to misfortunes and disturbances. That is why Laotse emphasized, " Nature is natural and cannot be artificially brought about by force; to force it into existence is to destroy it; to cling to it is to lose it."

With regard to Confucius, it may be said that he devoted himself to the study of things human, and paid extensive attention to

actual life, but never seriously thought of, or even talked much about Heaven and Earth, Natural Phenomena, Gods and Spirits, etc. When one of his best disciples, Chi-Lu, inquired of him, "How to serve the Gods?" he replied, "You don't know how to serve Man yet, how can you ask about serving the Gods?" When questioned a second time by the same disciple about Death, he again answered, "You don't know much about Life yet, how can you expect to know about Death?" On another occasion, one disciple by the name of Tzu-Kung asked the Master if the dead were conscious; he answered: "If I say the dead are conscious, I am afraid children may neglect their living parents and only observe the formal rites at their death; if I say they are unconscious, I am afraid posterity may forget to bury and sacrifice to their deceased ancestors. If you, my dear student, want to know the consciousness or unconsciousness of the dead it is never too late to know it after your own death." And, again, one disciple called Jan-You once asked the Master whether it was impossible to know of what existed before Heaven and Earth came into being; his reply was, "Not impossible: the past is the same as the present". "What do you mean?" interrogated the disciple in doubt again; Confucius continued. "With Heaven and Earth, there is no past or present, and no beginning or end. Were there no children first, would it be possible to have any children at all?" From this kind of teaching we can easily see that it was things human and events of this earth that Confucius studied, discussed and taught. But it must not be understood that Confucius ever denied the existence of Heaven and Earth, Gods and Spirits, or had no conception of natural phenomena. He said once, "A virtuous man has three awes: awe for Heaven's decree; awe for great men; and awe for the Saint's words." At another time, he expressed his opinion on offering sacrifices, "When worshipping a God, one must feel as if He were visibly present"; and then, "If I did not partake in the ceremony of a sacrifice, it would be the same as no sacrifice at all." His purpose in saying this, however, was only to impress upon the popular mind the existence of a power which is really superior to the individual, so that the people might always have a sense of awe and respect and never be poisoned by egoistic pride. He wanted to make the people appreciate the real value of awe for Heaven's will and that of offering sacrifices to Spirits; so he emphasised, "Worship the Gods and Spirits; but keep away from them." For, such things cannot be performed with any utilitarian motive; their

original significance and value will be lost. In short, the teaching of Confucius is that the whole universe and every being are constantly changing, and that the most essential aspect for human life is the present Reality. It is only through the present that one can trace the pass and hope to foresee the future, and it is only through things human that one can hope to extend one's knowledge about Heaven and Earth, Gods and Spirits and every Being. Therefore, in teaching man to be loyal and filial, faithful and moral, to know propriety and righteousness, to value shame and purity, and to practise all ways of self-culture, Confucius aimed at reaching the goal of Perfect Beauty and Perfect Good by harmonising in the Natural Universe all beings, and humanity through the virtuous conduct of daily life. It is this ethical ideal that forms the very core of Chinese Religion and builds up at the same time a very complete and beautiful ethical philosophy of life. For this reason it is called by some "The Teaching of Ethics", or by some "Yu-Chiao" (the Teaching of Scholars), and still by others "Confucianism"; but in truth the most proper name for it would be "Chinese Religion."

Since the Dynasties of Chin and Han, foreign religions have gradually come into China and greatly influenced the primary Chinese Religion. Among these, Buddhism came first, then Christianity, and then Islam. But that which influenced the Chinese Religion most was Buddhism. Entering China nearly two thousand years ago, it has now become a Second National Religon, has mingled with Chinese Religion and has been assimilated to it. Since they have mutually developed Chinese Religion is fertilized by Buddhism and Buddhism, in turn, is enriched by chinese Religion. With respect to Christianity which came into China soon after the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, it was first called in Chinese "Chin-Chiao", probably due to different pronunciation or incorect translation of the word "Chiristian". Criginally it was brought into the country by the Jesuits but produced very little effect. For the last few centuries, however, it has been revived and preeched with great effect first by European and then by American missionaries and is today fairly influential among the newly-educated people in urban communities. As regards Islam, it was brought into China soon after the passsing away of Mohammed, and became one of the important factors in Chinese Religion. In the recent history of China, the position of Muslims is rather striking and worthy of attention. In addition to

these three great foreign religions, there were also introduced into China, Zoroastrianism and other minor creeds; but producing very little or no effect upon the people, they died out gradually.

Chinese Religion, however, in spite of the influence on it of such powerful foreign elements, is still able to maintain its own original shape and fundamental spirit. The foreign religions, once domiciled in China, have become more or less "Chinese Naturalised" and may be called parts of Chinese Religion. For instance, the Buddhism of China can be styled "Chinese Buddhism"; the Christianity of China, "Chinese Christianity"; and the Islam of China "Chinese Islam". The fact that China can contain and absorb, harmonize and utilize, all the various foreign religions so as to let them exist together without jealousy and conflict is notably characteristic of Chinese Religion. That is why it can be so deep, rich, and, extensive in volume and content.

At present, the manifest features of Chinese Religion are quite Complicated. In respect of form, the masses of the people sacrifice to the great Sages, Heroes and Ancestors on the one hand, and worship Heaven and Earth, Gods, Spirits, Lord Buddha, Jesus Christ, and Prophet Mohammed on the other. Almost in every family there is set up in the upper wall of the hall a holy Ancestral Shrine before which a lamp is lit and incense burnt every morning and every evening. On the occasion of marriage or funeral or any other seasonal, festive occasion there must be offered to the ancestors a formal sacrifice. Among the families of the same surname, which represents the lineage of kinship, there are common "Family Temples" in which carefully prepared Sacrifice Feasts must be provided on the birthdays of the ancestors or at other seasonal festivals. In the villages, there are Buddhist monasteries and oracular altars of other gods where the peasants, especially women, usually worship and offer sacrifices. In the cities there are mosques and churches for the believers to hold their service and offer prayer respectively. But what is peculiarly funny is that sometimes the images of the gods and saints of different religions are consecrated in one and the same temple. In respect of spirit, the general body of the nation accept the Ethical Ideals on the one hand, but believe in Fatalism and Necromancy on the other; study the doctrines and principles of Buddhism, Christianity and Islam on the one side, but welcome the various revolutionary theories and natural sciences on the other

Though all these appear contradictory, actually they cohere in a sort of natural unity. For Nature and Universe, Humanity and Society, are by no means simple and one-sided; they are vast and complex and have many sides and aspects. The sea, for example is not the home of any one single fish, nor the mountain of any one single animal. In fact nothing save the petty bigotry and prejudice of man is incapable of being unified and assimilated in this world. In one old Chinese classic entitled "The Great Learning", we find a very fine proverb: "All beings live side by side without injuring one another; all orbits lie parallel without colliding against each other." The complexity of Chinese Religion is just the concrete expression of this spirit.

From what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs, we can at least have a general idea of the significance, quality, and the evolution of Chinese Religion. Now, for the sake of clearness, *the essential points of this religion may be summed up as below* :—

First: Chinese Religion, of which ethical virtue is the centre emphasizes real human things and actual ordinary life, while its spiritual aim is "Perfect Beauty" and "Perfect Good" in human life. It is expressed best in the old Chinese classics: "The way of the Great Learning is to illuminate the illustrious virtue, to enlighten the peoples and to realise Perfect Good "; and "The end must be Perfect Beauty and Perfect Good". As Mr. Bertrand Russell has put it: "In Art they (the Chinese) aim at being exquisite, in Life reasonable."

Second: How to realise Perefect Beauty and Perfect Good is based upon the cultivation of individual personality. It is laid down as a sort of rule in one Chinese classical book, "The Ancients who wished to brighten the illustrious virtue in the world, first ordered well their own States. Wishing to order well their States, they first regulated their families; wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons; wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their minds, wishing to rectify their minds they first purified their volitions; wishing to purify their volitions, they first extended their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge depended upon the study of things. Things having been studied, knowledge became perfect; knowledge being perfect, their volitions were then purified; their volitions being purified, their minds were then rectified; their

minds being rectified, their persons were then cultivated; their persons being cultivated, their families were then regulated; their families being regulated, their States were then well ordered; their States being well ordered, the whole world could then be made tranquil and happy."

Third: Humanity is the life of a harmonious collectivity, not the life of exclusive individuality. The ultimate aim of humanity must be to achieve the well being of all mankind; neither the individual, nor the race, nor the State is to be the end of life. It is said in another Chinese classic, "In the progression of the Great Natural Process, the whole world is free and common to all. The wise and the able should be chosen to rule; faithfulness and peacefulness should be cultivated and maintained among all. Man must not only love his own parents and endear his own children, but also endeavour to give to the aged rest and comfort, make the grown-ups work and serve and help the young to grow in body and mind. The widower, the widow, the orphan, the bereft, the disabled, and the sick should be offered proper treatment and carefully looked after. Every man has his duty, and every woman her place in the scheme of human life. Natural resources should be drawn out of the earth and utilized, but not for private enrichment; personal abilities of body and mind should be exerted and exercised, but not for selfish purposes. Thus, there will be no chance for conspiracy and intrigue, nor for theft and robbery, and every home can be safe with open gates at night. This is called 'Ta-Tung' or 'Great Harmonization'."

Fourth: The sublime end of "Ta-Tung" does not stop with the Great Harmonization of Humanity only but also aims at the unification of the entire universe and every being. In old Chinese classical books we find various maxims of this teaching, such as: first, "All men are our brethren and all beings our friends"; then, "Heaven and Earth co-exist with man, and all beings are one"; then, "What is meant by sincerity is the perfect cultivation not only of the individual ego but also of everything;" then "Great is the teaching of sages; cultivating all beings profusely and communicating with Heaven sublimely, how glorious and magnificent it is!" And, again, "Heaven gives sweet dew, earth supplies delicious water; mountains produce wood for making implements; rivers afford materials for study; the phoenix and the unicorn (the popularly believed fabulous bird and animal) play in field and forest; the divine Tortoise and the kindly Dragon enjoy

in the deep; and all other living beings, viviparous as well as oviparous, can be observed and investigated."

From the first two points, Chinese Religion may be called the "Teaching of Ethics" or "Teaching of Humanism", and from the last two points, it may be called the "Teaching of Ta-Tung or Great Harmonization" or "Universalism". But, consistently with traditional customs and practices, I should like to call it "Chinese Religion".

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